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Larned's
History of the World
or
Seventy Centuries
of the Life of Mankind

A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES
OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH
HISTORIC EPOCH

BY J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF THE FAMOUS "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF
"A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS,"
"A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS," ETC.

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CHAPTER VII

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE
DEATH OF ALARIC

(B. C. 44 to A. D. 410)

Formation of the Roman Empire: Aspirants for the succession to Cæsar's power.—The Second Triumvirate.—Defeat and death of Cæsar's assassins.—Division of the Empire.—Mark Antony in Egypt.—His overthrow and death.—Supremacy of Octavius, as Emperor and Augustus.—His organization of the Empire. *Birth of Jesus and rise of Christianity:* Judea at the time of the birth of Jesus.—The kingdom of Herod.—Roman government when Jesus began his teaching.—Jewish institutions.—The Great Sanhedrin.—Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes.—Their hostility to Jesus and proceedings against Him.—The spreading of belief in Him after His death. *The Roman Empire from Augustus to Diocletian:* The first emperors.—Nero, the madman.—Vespasian.—The great Jewish revolt.—Trajan's conquests abandoned by Hadrian.—The Antonine emperors.—Marcus Aurelius.—Happy state of the world.—The evil conditions that followed. *The new enemies of Rome:* A new Persian monarchy.—Impending avalanche of northern barbarians.—Franks, Alemanni, Suevi, Goths.—Beginning of Gothic invasions. *The Roman Empire from Diocletian to Arcadius:* Reorganization and division of the Empire.—Spread of Christianity.—Civil war, and triumph of Constantine.—The Christian church corrupted by imperial patronage.—Julian and the pagan revival.—Admission of Visigoths to the Empire.—Beginning of their ravages.—Final division of the Empire.—Decay in the west.—Alaric's attacks upon Rome.—The city taken and plundered.—Frontier defenses broken.—The barbarians swarming in. *China:* Introduction of Buddhism.

From the beginning to the end of the annals we possess, there has been no other age in which the historic world was so much unified, and so concentrated an interest given to the human story, as in this period of the Roman empire, from Cæsar, who founded it, to Alaric, who struck it a mortal blow. It is not only that the theaters of old empire and civilization surrounding the Mediterranean had been encompassed by one grand stage, but all the bordering peoples became actors upon it, and take their historical importance from the parts they performed in the imperial Roman drama. It was now that the Teutonic peoples

Roman
unification
of the his-
toric world

came into the light of history, and began to pass from tribal into national forms. It was now that the older influences in civilization, from the orient and from Greece, lost their distinctness, and were fused in Christianity, or were half changed, half extinguished, by Roman organization and Roman law, which brought new social forces into the world. It was now, in fact, that the old order,—the old institutions, the old conditions of life, and the old states of mind,—in the regions that are the center of interest for us, were passing away, and the elements of the new order, shaped since into our modern civilization, were coming into their place.

The passing of the old order

Rome after Cæsar's murder

Merivale
History of the Romans
ch. xxiii-
xxxiv

Mark
Antony

The murderers of Cæsar were not accepted by the people as the patriots and "liberators" which they claimed to be, and they were soon in flight. Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), who had been Cæsar's associate in the consulship, now naturally and skillfully assumed the direction of affairs, and aspired to gather the reins of imperial power into his own hands. But rivals were ready to dispute with him the great prize of ambition. Among them, it is probable that Antony gave little heed at first to the young man, Caius Octavius, or Octavianus, who was Cæsar's nephew, and his adopted son and heir; for Octavius was less than nineteen years old, he was absent in Apollonia, and he was little known. But the young Cæsar, coming boldly though quietly to Rome, began to

Octavius

push his hereditary claims with a patient craftiness and dexterity that were marvelous in one so young.

The contestants soon resorted to arms. The result of their first indecisive encounter was a compromise and the formation of a triumvirate, like that of Cæsar, Pompeius and Crassus. This second triumvirate was made up of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, lately master of the horse in Cæsar's army. Unlike the earlier coalition, it was vengeful and bloody-minded. Its first act was a proscription, in the terrible manner of Sulla, which filled Rome and Italy with murders, and with terror and mourning. Cicero, the patriot and great orator, was among the victims cut down.

The Second
Triumvirate
B. C. 43

Murder of
Cicero.
B. C. 43

After this general slaughter of their enemies at home, Antony and Octavius proceeded against Brutus and Cassius, two of the assassins of Cæsar, who had gathered a large force in Greece. They defeated them at Philippi, and both "liberators" perished by their own hands. The triumvirs now divided the empire between them, Antony ruling the east, Octavius the west, and Lepidus taking Africa—that is, the Carthaginian province, which included neither Egypt nor Numidia. Unhappily for Antony, the queen of Egypt was among his vassals, and she ensnared him. He gave himself up to voluptuous dalliance with Cleopatra at Alexandria, while the cool intriguer, Octavius, at Rome, worked unceasingly to solidify and increase his power. After six

Defeat and
death of
Brutus and
Cassius.
B. C. 42

Division of
the empire

Defeat and
death of
Antony
and Cleo-
patra.
B. C. 31

years had passed, the young Cæsar was ready to put Lepidus out of his way, which he did mercifully, by exile, and not death. After five years more he launched his legions and his war galleys against Antony, with the full sanction of the Roman senate and people. The sea fight at Actium gave Octavius the whole empire, and both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide after flying to Egypt. The kingdom of the Ptolemies was now extinguished and became a Roman province in due form.

Octavius
(Augustus)
supreme.
B. C. 31-
A. D. 14

Octavius was more securely absolute as the ruler of Rome and its great empire than Sulla or Julius Cæsar had been, and he maintained that sovereignty without challenge for forty-five years, until his death. He received from the senate the honorary title of "Augustus," by which he is most commonly known. For official titles, he took none but those which had belonged to the institutions of the republic, and were known familiarly. He was Imperator, as his uncle had been; he was Princeps, or head of the senate; he was Censor; he was Tribune; he was Supreme Pontiff. All the great offices of the republic he kept alive, and ingeniously constructed his sovereignty by uniting their powers in himself.

In the reign of Augustus, the empire was consolidated and organized; it was not much extended. The frontiers were carried to the Danube, throughout, and the subjugation of Spain was made complete. Augustus generally

discouraged wars of conquest. His ambitious stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, persuaded him into several expeditions beyond the Rhine, against the restless German nations, which perpetually menaced the borders of Gaul; but these gained no permanent footing in the Teutonic territory. They led, on the contrary, to a fearful disaster, near the close of the reign of Augustus, when three legions, under Varus, were destroyed in the Teutoburg Forest by a great combination of the tribes, planned and conducted by a young chieftain named Hermann, or Arminius, who is the national hero of Germany to this day.

Conquest
discour-
aged

Fate of
Varus and
his legions,
A. D. 9

The policy of Drusus in strongly fortifying the northern frontier against the Germans left marks that are visible conspicuously at the present day. From the fifty fortresses which he is said to have built along the line sprang many important modern cities,—Basel, Strasburg, Worms, Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Bonn, Cologne and Leyden, among the number. From similar forts on the Danubian frontier rose Vienna, Regensburg and Passau.

The Birth of Jesus and the Rise of Christianity

The greatest of all events in history,—the greatest in every view, politically, socially and morally, no less than religiously,—occurred in the reign of Augustus, when Jesus of Nazareth was born. If the chronology of our Christian era were true, the birth of Jesus, from which it represents an attempted reckoning, would be dated in the thirty-first year of the supremacy of Augustus

at Rome. But that date, the starting point of Christian chronology, was fixed in the sixth century after Christ, by reckonings which all modern scholars have concluded to be wrong. Mostly, but not entirely, they agree in the opinion that Jesus was born four years earlier than the year which is designated, by centuries of custom, as the year 1 *Anno Domini*,—the year of our Lord.

The true
year of the
Nativity,
B. C. 4

(See page
269)

Herod, king
of Judea.
B. C. 40-4

Josephus,
Antiquities
of the Jews,
bks. 14-18

The year of the Nativity was the year in which the last substantial Jewish monarchy became extinct, on the death of Herod, its first and last king. Herod was one of the sons of that minister, Antipater, who became the real governor of Judea after Pompey's dethronement of the Hasmonean kings, in 63 B. C. Placed in authority over Galilee by his father, Herod had shown in his youth great abilities and a violent energy of unscrupulous character, which became threatening even to Antipater before the latter died. With extraordinary adroitness, he won the favor, in succession, of Cæsar, of Cæsar's murderers, of Mark Antony, and of Augustus, contriving, through all the shifts of fortune in Roman affairs, to have his usefulness recognized and employed by the people in power. In 41 B. C. Antony appointed him and his brother Phasael tetrarchs (tributary princes) in Judea; but the Parthians invaded Palestine the next year, took Jerusalem, captured both Phasael and Hyrcanus, and set up a nephew of the latter as king. Herod escaped and fled to Rome, where he induced Antony,

Octavius, and the senate to endow him with the title of king of Judea, and to provide him with forces necessary to make the title good. Returning with Roman legions at his back, he reduced Jerusalem, after a siege of half a year, capturing his rival, the protege of the Parthians, who was put to death soon afterward, on Antony's order, but at Herod's request.

Herod's subsequent reign of thirty-three years was one of outward splendor, with inward foulness of cruelty and crime. The temple was rebuilt, a grander edifice than came from the hands of Solomon, and Jerusalem was made a magnificent capital, less Jewish in character than Roman and Greek. There must have been prosperity in Judea, to supply the boundless wealth which its king seemed to command, and which he lavished in the creation of new cities and the adornment of the old. In this royal munificence he imitated and pleased his imperial patron and real master at Rome, who favored him in many ways, enlarged his dominions, and overlooked his crimes.

Herod's
magnifi-
cence

Few despots in history have surpassed Herod in horrible crimes. His favorite wife (among ten), Mariamne, a beautiful princess of the Hasmonean family, whom he professed to love with passion, her young brother, her mother, her two sons, another son by another wife, and the aged Hyrcanus, in whose name his father had ruled Judea, were among the uncounted victims whom his jealous suspicions and fears sent to torture

His crimes

His death.
B. C. 4

and death. His own death, from a loathsome and agonizing disease, was dreadful enough to seem like a retributive judgment of God.

Division of
the Judean
sovereignty

Herod died within the year that has been agreed upon most generally as that of the birth of Jesus. A large family survived his many murders, to quarrel over the heritage, disputing a will which Herod left. There was a hearing of the disputants at Rome, and also a hearing given to deputies of the Jewish people, who prayed to be delivered from the Herodian family, one and all. The imperial judgment established Archelaus, eldest son of Herod's sixth wife, Malthace, in the sovereignty of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the title of Ethnarch. To Herod Antipas, second son of the same mother, it gave Galilee and Perea. Philip, another son, by a seventh wife, was made tetrarch of a small principality. Archelaus governed so oppressively that, after some years, he was deposed by the Romans and banished to Gaul. Judea was then joined to the prefecture of Syria, under a succession of Roman governors, the fifth of whom, Pontius Pilate, was governor when Jesus, at about thirty years of age, began his public teaching.

Pontius
Pilate

Roman
govern-
ment of the
Jews

The seat of Roman government was not Jerusalem, but Cæsarea, a splendid seaport city which Herod had built. It was a system of government planned prudently, to avoid as far as possible any rude and unnecessary interference with the Jewish institutions of priestly rule. The jurisdiction of the sanhedrins, the Jewish courts

of justice, appears to have been untouched, and their authority very little impaired. The Great Sanhedrin, at Jerusalem, composed of seventy-one priests, Levites and elders, under the presidency of the high priest, continued to exercise its functions, as a supreme tribunal and court of appeal from the lower courts, and is believed to have kept an important influence otherwise, as a kind of senatorial body, representative of the Jewish nation.

The Great
Sanhedrin

The Jews of Palestine, at this time, were divided mainly by the opposing influence of two sects, which were likewise parties, in the political sense. The sect and party of the Pharisees represented the extreme of formal orthodoxy and rigid nationalism, while the Sadducees exhibited the influence of Greek culture on the Hebraic mind. In places of public resort, says Dean Milman, "the Pharisees were always seen with their phylacteries, or broad slips of parchment, inscribed with sentences of the Law, displayed on their foreheads and the hems of their garments. Even in the corners of the public streets they would kneel to pray; and in the temple or synagogues they chose the most conspicuous stations, that their long devotions might excite the admiration of their followers. They fasted rigorously, observed the Sabbath with the most scrupulous punctuality, and paid tithes even upon the cheapest herbs. In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them; they

The
Pharisees

Pharisaic
pretensions

always took the highest places, but their morals, according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions; they violated the main principles of the Law, the justice and humanity of the Mosaic institutions, while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars, not merely of the Law itself, but of tradition likewise. Still they were the idols of the people, who revered them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness."

The
Sadducees

"The Sadducees were less numerous and less influential; for, besides the want of this popular display of religion, they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes. Denying all punishment for crime in a future life, their only way to discourage delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the Law." Dr. Döllinger ascribes the doctrines of the Sadducees to "the workings of the Epicurean philosophy, which had found special acceptance in Syria." As Epicureans, they denied the life of the soul after the death of the body. They admitted a divine creation of the universe, but "denied all continuous operation of God in the world."

Milman,
*History of
the Jews*,
2, bk. 12

Döllinger,
*The Gentile
and the Jew*,
2 : 303

The
enemies of
Jesus

The Pharisees, the Scribes,—who were the teachers and expounders of the Mosaic Law,—and the priests in general, formed the chief elements of opposition and hostility that Jesus encountered, during the time,—less than four years, between A. D. 26 and 30,—in which his message was set forth. They controlled the sanhedrin; but it is manifest that a great mass of the

people had become friendly, at least, to the new teacher, since his powerful enemies dared not lay hands upon him in a public way. When they had determined to silence him by sentence of death, they had to bribe the treacherous Judas to give them information of a moment when Jesus could be seized in a private place. Once in the hands of the Jewish sanhedrin, his fate was sealed. With the sentence of that tribunal, Pilate, the Roman governor, was unwilling to interfere. He cared nothing for the political accusation, that Jesus claimed to be king of the Jews, and said plainly, "I find no fault in this man;" but the case was one, in his judgment, that should be left to the Jews. Since the condemned teacher was a native of Galilee, let the question of executing the sentence of the sanhedrin be referred, he said, to Herod Antipas, the Jewish tetrarch of Galilee. So Jesus was sent to Herod, then in Jerusalem, as Pilate was; but Herod only questioned and mocked him, and sent him back. Then Pilate pleaded for the prisoner, in whom he could see "nothing worthy of death," asking the chief priest and others to consent that he be chastised and released; but they would not. It was in his power to annul the sentence of the sanhedrin, but Roman policy seems to have forbidden his going to that length. According to one of the Gospel narratives, "When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of

Jesus
before
Pilate

Matthew,
xxvii, 24, 26

The crucifixion.
A. D. 30

this just person; see ye to it;" "and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified."

The popular following of Jesus

In his lifetime it is clear that Jesus had made a deep impression on multitudes of people, in and around Jerusalem, who dimly discerned his superiority to ordinary men, who felt that he "spoke as one having authority," and who were prepared to accept him as the promised and expected Messiah, according to the political idea of the Messiah that prevailed in most Jewish minds. In other words, there were multitudes ready to follow him, as a God-given leader, who might deliver their nation and restore the kingdom of David, by breaking the hateful Roman yoke. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the conception of Jesus as a spiritual Messiah,—as the Son of God, descended from Heaven in human likeness to redeem mankind from sin,—was in very few minds when his crucifixion occurred. At the first meeting of disciples that is recorded in The Acts "the number of names together," it is said, "were about an hundred and twenty," and this probably represents nearly the entire strength of Christianity as a purely religious faith in Jesus, when he died.

His spiritual disciples

Spreading of the Christian faith

From that small beginning, in the year 30 A. D., the new faith was spread by the missionary zeal of its apostles through all the eastern and middle provinces of the Roman empire, so extensively, in a single generation, that it had taken importance in the eyes of the rulers at Rome. In the parts of the world then most civilized,

conditions favorable to its diffusion and its acceptance were such as had never existed before. By the Greek cultivation of inquisitive thought the old gross polytheisms were all undermined; and so, too, was the narrow Hebraic monotheism, which seated its one God on a Jewish throne, in a Jewish heaven. The more spiritualized minds of the time were everywhere anhungered for satisfying conceptions of deity and divine ways; therefore they were open to the hearing of the gospel of Christ. The wide field for its missionaries was thus prepared in one way by three centuries of the culture-influence of the Greeks. In another way it had been cleared for them and the paths in it made smooth by the legions of Rome. The highly civilized Mediterranean world (highly civilized so far as intellectual culture produces civilization) was now unified, as a Roman world, under one government and one system of law; and was at peace within itself. Travel in it was easy and safe; intercourse of every kind was stimulated; the missionary work which Christianized it had become possible, as it was not in any preceding time.

The first important body of Gentile converts to the belief in Jesus as a divine redeemer of mankind was formed at Antioch, the great Syrian city. These disciples at Antioch were the first to be called Christians, and they seem to have been especially imbued with an early proselytizing zeal. They started Paul upon his missionary journeys in Asia Minor and Greece, which had

Farrar,
*Early Days
of Chris-
tianity*,
bk. I

Larned,
*History
for Ready
Reference*,
1 : *Chris-
tianity*

Prepara-
tions for
Chris-
tianity

Early
Christian
missionary
work

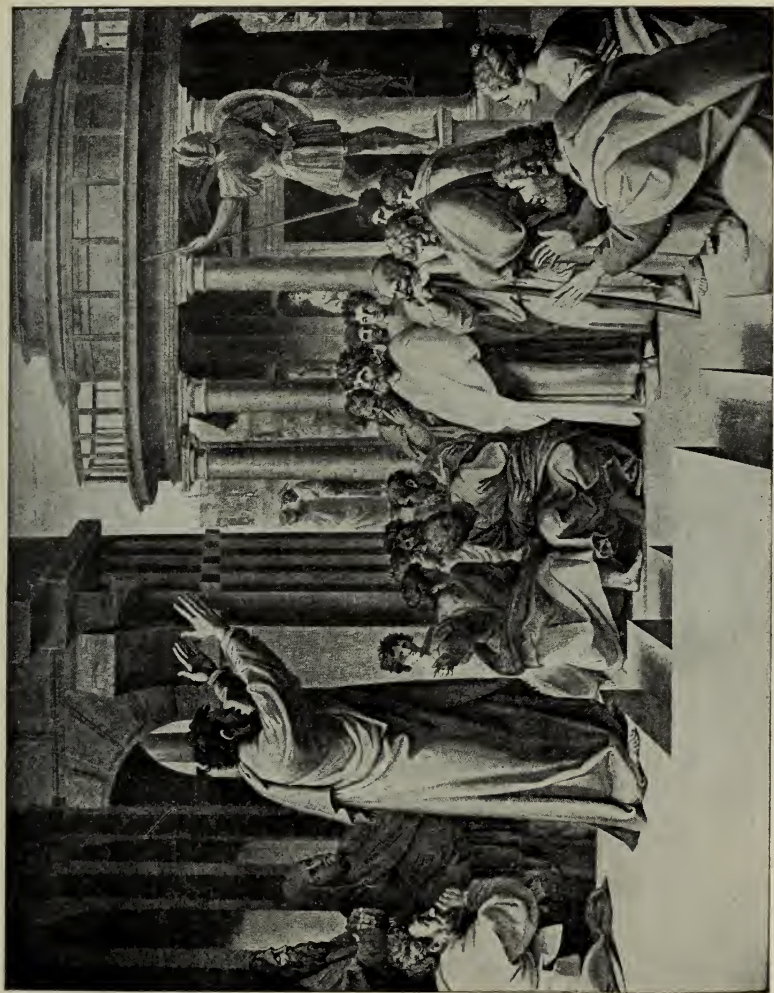
St. Paul
at Rome.
A. D. 61
or 62

wonderful results. Within the thirty years of Paul's apostolic career, by his preaching and that of others, the Christian faith was planted deeply and churches established in a score or more of important cities between Antioch and Rome. In 61 or 62 A. D., when Paul, having "appealed unto Cæsar" from charges brought against him at Jerusalem, was brought as a prisoner to Rome, he must have found a body of believers in the imperial capital, since his *Epistle to the Romans* was written evidently in advance of his visit. According to the narrative in The Acts, he had perfect freedom in the city, and "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God," "no man forbidding." Not more than two or three years later, in 64 A. D., there were Christians enough in the city of the Cæsars to excite a malignant persecution,—the first in which Roman authority showed hostility to their faith.

The Roman Empire from Augustus to Diocletian

This first Roman persecution of the rising Christian Church occurred in the reign of the fifth of the emperors,—the fourth in succession to Augustus, who founded the imperial throne. Augustus, who died A. D. 14, had been succeeded by his stepson, Tiberius, who was, during most of his reign, a vigorous ruler, but a detestable man, unless his subjects belied him, which some historians suspect. Under Tiberius there had been a

Tiberius.
A. D. 14-37



PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS

One of the Cartoons made by Raphael (1483-1520) as designs for decoration of the Sistine Chapel. The cartoons are now in the South Kensington Museum, London

fresh undertaking of conquest on the German side of the Rhine, made by his nephew, Germanicus, son of Drusus; but it was checked by the emperor's jealousy, and Germanicus died soon after, believing that he had been poisoned by his uncle's command. On the death of Tiberius, a son of Germanicus, named Caius, but known better by the nickname of Caligula, succeeded to the throne, and was the first of many emperors to be crazed and made beastlike, in lust, cruelty and senselessness, by the awful, unbounded power which passed into their hands. The empire bore his madness for three years, and then he was murdered by his own guards. The senate had thoughts now of restoring the commonwealth, and debated the question for a day; but the soldiers of the prætorian guard took it out of their hands, and decided it, by proclaiming Tiberius Claudius, a brother of Germanicus, and uncle of the emperor just slain. Claudius was weak of body and mind, but not vicious, and his reign was distinctly one of improvement and advance in the empire. He began the conquest of Britain, which the Romans had neglected since Cæsar's time, and he opened the senate to the provincials of Gaul. He had two wives of infamous character, and the later one of these, Agrippina, brought him a son, not his own, whom he adopted, and who succeeded him on the throne. This was Nero, of foul memory, who was madman and monster in as sinister a combination as history can show.

Caligula.
A. D. 37-41

Claudius.
A. D. 41-54

Nero.
A. D. 54-68

Nero's per-
secution of
Christians.
A. D. 64

Nero was the author of the cruel persecution of Christians at Rome in the year 64, and there has been much speculation as to the influences which brought it about. Religious intolerance as a motive in the imperial government cannot be suspected; for the Romans held their own religion too lightly to be impassioned against any other. Freedom to the gods and the rites of the peoples that submitted to them was one of the principles of the conquering policy they pursued. But, for other reasons than religious ones, the Jews as a race had made themselves obnoxious in most parts of the empire, and some historians, including Gibbon, have conjectured that the Christians suffered because their religion came from a Jewish source. Opposed to this conjecture is the fact that two, at least, of Nero's favorites and familiars are known to have been Jewish persons, and this leads to the supposition that his action was inspired by them.

Motives of
the perse-
cution

There may have been no hidden influence or motive behind the persecution, but only the fiendish madness of the man. An awful conflagration, burning for six days and seven nights, had consumed the greater part of historic Rome. Many people believed that the malignant emperor had fired the city for the pleasure of seeing it burn; whereupon he pointed to the Christians and accused them of the atrocious crime. This was the pretext found for putting "a huge multitude" (so Tacitus, the Roman historian, represents the number) to death, in many horrible

Its horrors

ways. "Covered with the skins of wild beasts," wrote Tacitus, "they were doomed to die by the mangling of dogs, or by being nailed to crosses; or to be set on fire and burnt after twilight, by way of nightly illumination. Nero offered his own gardens for this show."

Tacitus,
Annals, bk
15, sect. 44

Nero was tolerated for fourteen years, until the soldiers in the provinces rose against him, and he committed suicide to escape a worse death. Then followed a year of civil war between rival emperors—Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian—proclaimed by different bodies of soldiers in various parts of the empire. The struggle ended in favor of Vespasian, a rude, strong soldier, who purged the government, disciplined the army, and brought society back toward simpler and decenter ways. A great revolt of the Jews had broken out before he received the purple, and he was commanding in Judea when Nero fell.

Suicide of
Nero.
A. D. 68

Vespasian.
A. D. 70-79

The fierce temper that broke out in the Jewish revolt had been burning for some years, as a consequence of irritating changes in the Roman dealing with Palestine. In 41 A. D. the Herodian kingdom had been restored briefly by the emperor Claudius, who gave its throne to Herod Agrippa I., a grandson of Herod and Mariamne; but when this Herod Agrippa died, three years afterward, his son of the same name received only a petty dominion in some northern districts of the country, while a Roman governor was placed over the rest. A part of the people, who acquired the name of Zealots, became desperately embittered

Great
Jewish
revolt. A. D.
66-70

King Herod
Agrippa.
A. D. 41-44

The Zealots

then against the Roman domination, and determined to break themselves free. Their movement began with a conspiracy to exterminate or terrorize the leading Jews who opposed them, and this led the latter, in Jerusalem, to appeal to the Roman authorities for a protecting military force. Troops were sent, accordingly, to garrison the city; but the Zealots fought them and overcame them, after seven days of furious battle, and put them all to the sword.

Massacre
of Jews in
Syria.
A. D. 66

While this was happening in Jerusalem, the Syrians and Greeks in Cæsarea and other Syrian cities rose ragingly against the Jews in their midst and massacred thousands, in an awful riot of blood. There seemed to be a sudden outburst of madness in all the Jewish region, and the Roman prefect of Syria, who had to deal with it, was an incapable man. He led an army of 20,000 against Jerusalem, but retreated after beginning a siege, and lost half of his men in the unaccountable flight. Then Vespasian was sent to the scene of trouble, just on the eve of the revolutionary disturbances at Rome which resulted in calling him to the imperial throne. Those exciting events in the west delayed active operations against Jerusalem, and it was not until the spring of A. D. 70 that Vespasian's son Titus, succeeding him in the command, began the famous siege. Those who wish to read as hideous a story as was ever written must go to the pages of the Jewish historian, Josephus, where the horrible incidents of famine and slaughter are described at length.

Siege and
destruction
of Jerusa-
lem by
Titus.
A. D. 70

The doomed city had taken into itself so great a population from the surrounding country that more than a million are said by Josephus to have perished, first and last, within its walls. Of the few who survived a final massacre, when the Roman soldiers broke in, all above seventeen years in age were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or condemned to die in gladiatorial combats and in fights with wild beasts. The temple and the whole city, excepting three towers and a part of the western wall, were destroyed. It was the intention of the victors that Jerusalem should cease to exist.

Josephus,
The Jewish War, bk. v-vi

While the Jewish revolt was in progress, another, more dangerous to the Romans, was begun in the west, by the Batavians, a German tribe which occupied part of the Netherland territory, in the delta of the Rhine. They were joined by neighboring Gauls and by disaffected Roman legionaries, and they received help from their German kindred on the northern side of the Rhine. The revolt, led by a chieftain named Civilis, who had served in the Roman army, was overcome at the end of a serious war, the history of which is narrated by Tacitus, best of Roman historians, who lived at the time.

Revolt of the Batavians.
A. D. 69

Tacitus,
History, bk. 4, sects. 12-37, 54-79; bk. 5, sects. 14-26

The annals of the reign of Vespasian are scanty, which is a matter of regret, for it appears to have been one of important benefit to the empire, in all respects. He was worthily succeeded by his elder son, Titus, whose subjects so admired his many virtues that he was called "the delight of the

Titus.
A. D. 79-81

Destruc-
tion of Her-
culaneum
and
Pompeii.
A. D. 79

human race." The short reign of Titus, however, was filled strangely with calamities: fire at Rome, a great pestilence, and the frightful eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii. After Titus came his younger brother Domitian, who proved to be another creature of the monstrous species that appeared so often in the series of Roman emperors. The conquest of southern Britain (modern England) was completed in his reign by an able soldier, Agricola, who fought the Caledonians of the north, but was recalled before subduing them. Domitian was murdered by his own servants after a reign of fifteen years.

Domitian.
A. D. 81-96

Nerva.
A. D. 96-97

Rome and the empire were happy at last in the choice that was made of a sovereign to succeed the hateful son of Vespasian. Not the soldiery, but the senate, made the choice, and it fell on one of their number, Cocceius Nerva, who was already an aged man. He wore the purple but sixteen months, and his single great distinction in Roman history is, that he introduced to the imperial succession a line of the noblest men who ever sat in the seat of the Cæsars.

Trajan.
A.D.97-117

The first of these was the soldier Trajan, whom Nerva adopted and associated with himself in authority. When Nerva died his son by adoption ascended the throne with no opposition. The new emperor gave careful attention to the business of state and was wise in his administration of affairs, improving roads, encouraging trade, helping agriculture, and developing the resources of

the empire in prudent and practical ways. But he was a soldier, fond of war, and he unwisely reopened the career of conquest, which had been almost closed for the empire since Pompey came back from the east. A threatening kingdom having risen among the Dacians, in the country north of the lower Danube—the Transylvania and Roumania of the present day—he attacked and crushed it, in a series of vigorous campaigns, and annexed the whole territory to the dominion of Rome. He then garrisoned and colonized the country, and Romanized it so completely that it keeps the Roman name, and its language to this day is of the Latin stock, though Goths, Huns, Bulgarians and Slavs have swept it in successive invasions, and held it among their conquests for centuries at a time. In the east, he ravaged the territory of the Parthian king, entered his capital, and added Mesopotamia, Armenia and Arabia Petræa to the list of Roman provinces. But he died little satisfied with the results of his eastern campaigns.

Trajan's
conquests

His successor abandoned them, and none have doubted that he did well; because the empire was weakened by the new frontier in Asia which Trajan gave it to defend. His Dacian conquests were kept, but all beyond the Euphrates in the east were given up. The successor who did this was Hadrian, a kinsman, whom the emperor adopted in his last hours. Until near the close of his life, Hadrian ranked among the best of the emperors. Rome saw little of him, and resented

Hadrian.
A. D. 117-
138

his incessant travels through every part of his great realm. His manifest preference for Athens, where he lingered longest, and which flourished anew under his patronage, was still more displeasing to the ancient capital. In his later years he was afflicted with a disease which poisoned his nature by its torments, filled his mind with dark suspicions, and made him fitfully tyrannical and cruel.

In the last year of Trajan's reign the Jews, not in Palestine, but those dispersed in Cyprus, Egypt and Cyrenaica—the Diaspora, so called—made a desperate attempt to take possession of the regions in question and establish their nation there, expelling Romans and Greeks. Again, as in the previous revolt, they both inflicted and suffered a frightful destruction of life. Fourteen years later the emperor Hadrian visited Palestine, and resolved while there to construct a Roman city on the site of Jerusalem, excluding the Jews from it, and erasing entirely the sacred character which the place bore in their eyes. This project roused the inextinguishable Jewish patriotism afresh, and a third revolt occurred, led by one Barcochebas, said to be a bandit chief. Three years of a merciless struggle ensued, in which hundreds of thousands of the insurgent race were slain. "The war," says Professor Mommsen, "was waged with inexorable cruelty, and the male population was probably everywhere put to death. In consequence of this rising, the very name of the vanquished people was set aside; the

Revolt of
the Jewish
Diaspora.
A. D. 116

Revolt of
Barcoche-
bas. A. D.
132

province was thenceforth termed, not as formerly Judea, but by the older name of Syria of the Philistines, or Syria Palæstina. The land remained desolate; the new city of Hadrian [named Ælia Capitolina] continued to exist, but did not prosper. The Jews were prohibited under penalty of death from ever setting foot in Jerusalem."

Jerusalem
re-named

Mommsen,
*History of
Rome*,
8 : ch. xi

Before his death Hadrian adopted a man of blameless character, Titus Aurelius Antoninus, who received from his subjects, when he became emperor, the appellation "Pius," to signify the dutiful reverence and kindness of his disposition. He justified the name of Antoninus Pius, by which he is known historically, and his reign, though disturbed by some troubles on the distant borders of the empire, was happy for his subjects in nearly all respects. "No great deeds are told of him, save this, perhaps the greatest, that he secured the love and happiness of those he ruled."

Antoninus
Pius. A. D.
138-161

Like so many of the emperors, Antoninus had no son of his own; but even before he came to the throne, and at the request of Hadrian, he had adopted a young lad who won the heart of the late emperor while still a child. The family name of this son by adoption was Verus, and he was of Spanish descent; the name which he took, in his new relationship, was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. It is unquestionably the most illustrious name in the whole imperial line, from Augustus to the last Constantine, and made so more by character than by deeds.

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus.
A. D.
161-180

Renan,
*English
conferences:*
*Marcus
Aurelius*

The noble type of Roman character which

seems perfected in Marcus Aurelius was one that took shape from the austere doctrines of the stoic philosophy, which found more acceptance among the Romans than among the Greeks. In the absence of an ethical religious belief, the moral trend of stoic teaching gave profound satisfaction to the purer minds of that age.

First great
onset on the
empire from
the north.
A. D. 166-
180

Though his mind was meditative, and inclined him to the studious life, Marcus Aurelius compelled himself to be a man of vigor and activity in affairs. He disliked war; but he spent years of his life in camp on the frontiers; because it fell to his lot to encounter the first great onset of the barbarian nations of the north, which never ceased from that time to beat against the barriers of the empire until they had broken them down. His struggle was on the line of the Danube, with the tribes of the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Vandals, and others of less formidable power. He held them back, but the resources of the empire were overstrained and weakened lastingly by the effort. For the first time, too, there were colonies of barbarians brought into the empire, beyond its lines, to be settled for the supply of soldiers to the armies of Rome. It was a dangerous sign of Roman decay and a fatal policy to begin. The decline of the great world-power was, in truth, already well advanced, and the century of good emperors which ended when Marcus Aurelius died and his son Commodus came to the throne, only retarded, and did not arrest, the progress of mortal maladies in the state.

"If," says Gibbon, "a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom." This surpassingly happy condition was ended by Commodus, who went mad, like Nero and Caligula, with the drunkenness of power, and who was killed by his own servants, after a reign of twelve years. The soldiers of the prætorian guard now took upon themselves the making of emperors, and placed two upon the throne—first, Pertinax, an aged senator, whom they murdered the next year, and then Didius Julianus, likewise a senator, to whom, as the highest bidder, they sold the purple. Again, as after Nero's death, the armies on the frontiers put forward, each, a rival claimant, and there was war between the competitors. The victor who became sovereign was Septimius Severus, who had been in command on the Danube. He was an able soldier, and waged war with success against the Parthians in the east, and with the Caledonians in Britain, which latter he could not subdue. Of his two sons, the elder, nicknamed Caracalla, killed his brother with his own hands, and tortured the Roman world with his brutalities for six years, when he fell under the stroke of an assassin. The reign of this foul beast brought one

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall of the
Roman
Empire*,
1 : ch. iii

Commodus
A. D. 180-
192

Septimius
Severus.
A. D. 194-
211

Caracalla.
A. D. 211-
217

striking change to the empire. An imperial edict wiped away the last distinction between Romans and provincials, giving citizenship to every free inhabitant of the empire. "Rome from this date became constitutionally an empire, and ceased to be merely a municipality. The city had become the world, or, viewed from the other side, the world had become 'the City.'"

The period of sixty-seven years from the murder of Caracalla to the accession of Diocletian—when a great constitutional change occurred—demands little space in a sketch like this. The weakening of the empire by causes inherent in its social and political structure,—the chief among which were the deadly influence of its system of slavery and the paralyzing effects of its autocracy,—went on at an increasing rate, while disorder grew nearly to the pitch of anarchy, complete. There were twenty-two emperors in the term, which scarcely exceeded that of two generations of men. Nineteen of these were taken from the throne by violent deaths, through mutiny or murder, while one fell in battle, and another was held captive in Persia till he died.

Sixty-seven
years of
anarchy
and decay.
A. D. 217-
284

The New Enemies of Rome

For a new power had arisen in the east, bearing the ancient Persian name. The Parthian empire, after nearly four centuries of domination in the regions between the Euphrates and the Indus (except while subjugated temporarily by Trajan), was overturned by a successful revolt of its

Persian subjects. Ardshir or Artaxerxes, the leader of the revolt, became the founder of a new Persian dynasty which, under the name of the Sassanides, ruled that region of the world, and contested western Asia with the Romans, for the next four hundred years. So soon as he felt firm on his throne, Artaxerxes sent a haughty demand to the emperor then reigning at Rome, Alexander Severus, that all Asia should be given up to him, and Roman authority withdrawn to the western shores of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) and the Ægean. This opened a long series of wars, the first campaigns in which were of doubtful result; but when Sapor, son and successor of Artaxerxes, took command of the Persian forces, he inflicted an unprecedented humiliation on the Roman arms. Valerian, the emperor, was surrounded and taken prisoner, after a bloody battle fought near Edessa,—remaining until his death a captive in the hands of his insolent conqueror and subjected to every indignity. Syria was overrun by the Persian armies, and its splendid capital, Antioch, surprised, pillaged and savagely wrecked, while the inhabitants were mostly slain or reduced to slavery. Cilicia and Cappadocia were devastated in like manner. The victorious career of Sapor, which Rome failed to arrest, was checked by the rising power of Palmyra.

Rise of a
new Persian
empire.
A. D. 226

Valerian.
A. D.
254-260

Persian in-
vasion of
Syria

Palmyra, sometimes called Tadmor — both names significant of an abundance of palms—was a city on a large oasis in the Syrian desert, lying northeastward from Damascus, in the track of an

Palmyra

important commerce between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. As a meeting-place and resting-place of caravans and merchants it became populous and rich; but not, apparently, till after Trajan had subjected it to Rome. Having defended itself against Sapor, without Roman help, and checked the Persian advance, it assumed independence, under a leader named Odenathus, who established his authority over a large part of the Roman provinces in the east. Odenathus was assassinated in 267; whereupon his wife Zenobia, one of the famous heroines of history, seated herself on the throne he had erected, and ruled the Palmyrenian dominion with a strong hand. Her reign was brief, for a resolute emperor, Aurelian, revived vigor enough in the Roman armies to vanquish her, in 272 or 273 A. D., and to take her captive to Rome, where she lived quietly till the end of her days. Palmyra provoked the vengeance of Aurelian by a hasty revolt, after surrendering, and never recovered from the chastisement it received.

Odenathus

Zenobia

Aurelian.
A. D.
270-275"Thirty
tyrants"

Odenathus was one of a great number of local "tyrants," as they were called—military adventurers who rose in different parts of the empire during that period of disorder and decay, and established themselves for a time in authority over some district, large or small. In the reign of Gallienus there were nineteen of these petty "emperors," and they were spoken of as the "thirty tyrants."

At the same time, while the empire appeared to

be undergoing a rapid process of dissolution, the restless hosts of barbaric peoples in central and northern Europe, pressing each other southward, were hanging on its frontiers like an impending avalanche, seemingly ready to be set in motion at any hour by a touch.

Impending
avalanche
of barbari-
an nations
from the
north

The Germanic nations beyond the Rhine and the Danube had improved their organization, and many of the tribes, formerly separated and independent, were now gathered into powerful confederations. The most formidable of those leagues in the west was that which acquired the common name of the Franks, or Freeman, made up of the peoples occupying territory along the course of the lower Rhine. Another of nearly equal power, dominating the German side of the upper Rhine and the head waters of the Danube, is believed to have absorbed the tribes which had been known in the previous century as Boii, Marcomanni, Quadi, and others. The general name it received was that of the Alemanni. The Alemanni were in intimate association with the Suevi, and little is known of the distinction that existed between the two. They had now begun to make incursions across the Rhine, but were driven back in 238.

The confed-
erated
Franks

The Ale-
manni
The Suevi

Farther to the east, on the lower Danube, a still more dangerous horde was now threatening the flanks of the empire in its European domain. These were Goths, a people akin, without doubt, to the Swedes, Norsemen and Danes; but whence and when they made their way to the neighbor-

The Goths

A. D. 244-
249

A. D. 251

Dacia sur-
rendered to
the Goths.
A. D. 270

hood of the Black Sea is a question in dispute. It was in the reign of Caracalla that the Romans first became aware of their presence in the country known since as the Ukraine. A few years later, when Alexander Severus was on the throne, they began to make incursions into Dacia. During the reign of Philip the Arabian they passed through Dacia, crossed the Danube, and invaded Mœsia (modern Bulgaria). In their next invasion they passed the Balkans, defeated the Romans in two terrible battles, the last of which cost the reigning emperor, Decius, his life, and destroyed the city of Philippopolis, with 100,000 of its people. But when, a few years later, they attempted to take possession of even Thrace and Macedonia, they were defeated crushingly by the emperor Claudius, whose successor, Aurelian, made peace by surrendering to them the whole province of Dacia, where they settled, giving the empire no disturbance for nearly a hundred years. Before this occurred, the Goths, having acquired the little kingdom of Bosphorus (the modern Crimea), had begun to launch a piratical navy, which plundered the coast cities of Asia Minor and Greece, including Athens itself.

The Roman Empire from Diocletian to Arcadius and Honorius

Briefly described, this was the state and situation of the Roman empire when Diocletian, an able Illyrian soldier, came to the throne. His accession marks a new epoch. "From this time,"

says Dean Merivale, "the old names of the republic, the consuls, the tribunes, and the senate itself, cease, even if still existing, to have any political significance." "The empire of Rome is henceforth an oriental sovereignty."

Diocletian.
A. D. 284-
305

Finding that one man in the exercise of supreme sovereignty, as absolute as he wished to make it, could not give sufficient care to every part of the vast realm, he first associated one Maximian with himself, on equal terms, as emperor, or augustus, and six years later he selected two others from among his generals and invested them with a subordinate sovereignty, giving them the title of "cæsars." The arrangement appears to have worked satisfactorily while Diocletian remained at the head of his imperial college. But in 305 he wearied of the splendid burden that he bore, and abdicated the throne, unwillingly followed by his associate, Maximian. The two cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, were then advanced to the imperial rank, and two new cæsars were named.

His reor-
ganization
of the
empire

Jealousies, quarrels, and civil war were soon rending the empire again, but under conditions that had never appeared before. The spread of Christianity had brought a new force into existence, strong enough to become decisive of the struggle for imperial power. Two centuries and a half of ardent missionary work and silent influence, in continuation of the labors of the first apostles, had brought about the planting of no less (it is estimated) than a thousand Christian churches in the eastern parts of the empire and

Christi-
anity as a
political
force

Persecution
under De-
cius. A. D.
249-251

Christian
organiza-
tion

Uhlhorn,
*Conflict of
Christianity
with Hea-
thenism*,
p. 402

Persecution
of Diocle-
tian

eight hundred in the west. At nine periods since Nero's time the Christians had suffered persecution in some places, from differing outbreaks of local hostility; but it was not until the brief reign of Decius that persecution became a systematic and general attack on the Christian religion, aimed at its extirpation. That indicates that the Christians, as an organized body, united in sympathies and interests and ready to act together, from Egypt to Mauretania and from Mesopotamia to Spain, Gaul and Britain, were then multiplied to numbers that excited jealousy and alarm. They were still a small minority; for, says Uhlhorn, "it is generally assumed that they formed about one-twelfth of the whole population in the east, and in the west about one fifteenth. Even this is perhaps too high an estimate. But there were two things which gave a great importance to this minority. First, that no single religion of the much-divided heathenism had so many adherents as the Christian. Over against the scattered forces of heathenism the Christians formed a close phalanx; the church was a compact and strongly framed organization. Second, the Christians were massed in the towns."

Two immediate successors of Decius continued his efforts to extinguish Christianity, and then came a period of about forty years in which the church had rest; but that peaceful interval was followed by the last and cruelest of all the persecutions that the Christians of the empire endured. It began in the last years of the reign of Dio-



DIANA OR CHRIST?

From the painting by Edwin Long, R.A. (1829-1881)

cletian, the reorganizer of the imperial system; and doubtless it was prompted less by religious animosity than by political dislike of the powerfully organized Christian church.

Diocletian's arrangements, dividing the sovereignty of the empire between two emperors and two rulers of inferior rank, styled cæsars, was productive of conflicts that began in little more than a year after he laid his scepter down. From the first nine years of struggle, two competitors emerged alone, and divided the empire between them. They were Constantine, son of Constantius, who reigned in the west, and one Licinius, whose dominion was in the east. After nine years more, Licinius had disappeared, defeated and put to death, and Constantine shared the sovereignty of Rome with none.

Civil war.
A. D. 305-
323

Triumph of
Constantine
A. D. 323

In its final stages, the contest had become, practically, a trial of strength between expiring paganism in the Roman world and militant Christianity, now grown to great strength. The shrewd Constantine saw the political importance to which the Christian church had risen, and identified himself with it by a "conversion" which, undeservedly, has glorified his name.

The so-called "conversion" of Constantine was an event of vast import in history. It changed immensely, and with suddenness, the position, the state, the influence, and consequently the character and spirit of the Christian church. The hierarchy of the church became, almost at once, the greatest power in the empire,

Constantine's "conversion"

The church
corrupted
by power

next to the emperor himself, and its political associations, which were dangerous from the beginning, soon proved nearly fatal to its spiritual integrity. "Both the purity and the freedom of the church were in danger of being lost. State and church were beginning an amalgamation fraught with peril. The state was becoming a kind of church, and the church a kind of state. The emperor preached and summoned councils, called himself, though half in jest, a 'bishop,' and the bishops had become state officials, who, like the high dignitaries of the empire, traveled by the imperial courier-service, and frequented the ante-chambers of the palaces in Constantinople." "The emperor determined what doctrines were to prevail in the church, and banished Arius to-day and Athanasius to-morrow." "The church was surfeited with property and privileges. The emperor, a poor financier, impoverished the empire to enrich" it. That Christianity had shared the gain of the Christian church from these great changes, is very questionable, to say the least.

Uhlhorn,
*Conflict of
Christianity
with Hea-
thenism,*
448-450

Arian and
Athanasian
contro-
versy

The Arius and Athanasius referred to above were the theological leaders on opposing sides of a fierce controversy that arose in the church at this time, concerning the divine nature of Christ. Arius and his followers, while recognizing the divinity of Christ, as the Son of God, denied the identity or equality of the Son with the Father, maintaining that the former could not be co-existent with the latter, nor of the same substance, but

must have been derived from and created by the Father, and must therefore be subordinate to Him. This doctrine was denounced by the Athanasians as a gross heresy, tending to the destruction of the true Christian faith. To decide the question between Arians and Athanasians in an authoritative way, Constantine convened the first general (œcumenical) council of the church, at Nicæa (often called Nice), a city of Asia Minor, where 318 bishops met, in the year 325, and adopted the formula of belief still known as the Nicene creed. The Arian doctrine was condemned by an overwhelming majority, its chief supporters were exiled and their books were burned.

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall*, ch. xxi

Council of
Nicæa.
A. D. 325

Arianism was not suppressed by this decision, but gained ground very rapidly in the east, where the power to persecute was soon transferred to its willing hands. Generally, however, the Latin churches in the west, with that of Rome at their head, adhered to the Athanasian dogma of the Nicene creed, which established itself in the end as the orthodox Christian belief.

By another event of his reign, Constantine marked it in history with lasting effect. He rebuilt with magnificence the Greek city of Byzantium on the Bosphorus, transferred to it his imperial residence, and raised it to a nominal equality with Rome, but to official and practical superiority, as the capital of the empire. The old Rome dwindled in rank and prestige from that day; the new Rome—the city of Constantine, or

Constanti-
nople, the
New Rome

Constantinople—rose to the supreme place in the eyes and the imaginations of men.

Constantine's sons.
A. D. 337-361

Gibbon,
Decline and Fall, ch.
xviii-xix

Julian and the pagan revival.
A. D. 361-363

That Constantine added the abilities of a statesman to the unscrupulous cleverness of an adventurer is not to be disputed; but he failed to give proof of this when he divided the empire between his three sons at his death. The inevitable civil wars ensued, until, after sixteen years, one survivor gathered the whole realm under his scepter again. He (Constantius), who debased and disgraced the church more than his father had done, was succeeded by his cousin, Julian, a thoughtful, strong man, who preferred the old pagan Greek philosophy to the kind of Christianity which he had seen flourishing at the Byzantine court. He publicly restored the worship of the ancient gods of Greece and Rome; he excluded Christians from the schools, and bestowed his favor on those who scorned the church; but he entered on no violent persecution. His reign was brief, lasting only two years. He perished in a hapless expedition against the Persians, who harassed the empire incessantly.

Valentinian and Valens.
A. D. 364-375

His successor, Jovian, whom the army elected, died in seven months; but Valentinian, another soldier, raised by his comrades to the throne, reigned vigorously for eleven years. He associated his brother Valens with him in the sovereignty, assigning the latter to the east, while he took the administration of the west.

Until the death of Valentinian, the northern frontiers of the empire, along the Rhine and the

Danube, were well defended. Julian had commanded in Gaul, with Paris for his capital, six years before he became emperor, and had organized its defense most effectively. Valentinian maintained the line with success against the Alemanni; while his lieutenant, Theodosius, delivered Roman Britain from the ruinous attacks of the Scots and Picts. On the Danube, there continued to be peace with the Goths, who held back all other barbarians from that north-eastern border.

Defense of
the
frontiers

But the death of Valentinian was the beginning of fatal calamities. His brother Valens had none of his capability or his vigor, and was unequal to such a crisis as now occurred. The terrible nation of the Huns, most savage of the many Mongolian nomads that have poured into eastern Europe, during historic times, from the central Asian deserts and steppes, had now overwhelmed the Goths, in the country which the latter occupied, north of the lower Danube and the Black Sea. Most of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) had submitted to them and remained in their homes, while the Visigoths (Western Goths) took to flight. These fugitive Visigoths begged to be permitted to cross the Danube and settle on vacant lands in Mœsia and Thrace. Valens consented, and the whole Visigothic nation, 200,000 warriors, with their women and children, passed the river. It is possible that they might, by fair treatment, have been converted into loyal citizens, and useful defenders of the land. But

The Huns
in Europe

Visigoths
admitted to
the empire
A. D. 376 .

Hodgkin,
*Italy and
her Inva-
ders*, bk. I,
ch. i-iv

Ravages of
the Goths

the corrupt officials of the court took advantage of their dependent state, and wrung extortionate prices from them for disgusting food, until they rose in desperation and wasted Thrace with fire and sword. Fresh bodies of Ostrogoths and other barbarians came over to join them; the Roman armies were beaten in two great battles, and Valens, the emperor, was slain. The victorious Goths swept on to the very walls of Constantinople, which they could not surmount, and the whole open country, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, was ravaged by them at will.

Theodosius
A. D. 379-
395

In the meantime, the western division of the empire had passed, on the death of Valentinian, under the nominal rule of his two young sons, Gratian, aged sixteen, and Valentinian II., aged four. Gratian had made an attempt to bring help to his uncle Valens; but the latter fought his fatal battle while the boy emperor was on the way, and the latter, upon hearing of it, turned back. Then Gratian performed his one great act. He sought a colleague, and called to the throne the most promising young soldier of the day. This was Theodosius, whose father, Count Theodosius, the deliverer of Britain, had been put to death by Valens, on some jealous accusation, only three years before. The new emperor took the east for his realm, having Gratian and Valentinian II. for colleagues in the west. He checked the ravages of the Goths and restored the confidence of the Roman soldiers. Then he brought diplomacy to bear upon the dangerous situation,

and succeeded in arranging a peace with the Gothic chieftains, which enlisted them in the imperial service with forty thousand of their men. But they retained their distinctive organization, under their own chiefs, and were called “*fœderati*,” or allies. This concession of semi-independence to so great a body of armed barbarians in the heart of the empire was a fatal mistake, as was proved before many years.

Fatal alliance with the Goths

For the time being it secured peace, and gave Theodosius opportunity to attend to other things. The controversies of the church were among the subjects of his consideration, and, by taking the side of the Athanasians, whom his predecessor had persecuted, he gave a final victory to trinitarianism, in the Roman world. His reign was signalized, moreover, by the formal, official abolition of paganism at Rome.

Paganism abolished

The weak but amiable Gratian, reigning at Paris, lost his throne and his life, as the consequence of a revolt which began in Britain and spread to Gaul. The successful rebel and usurper, Maximus, seemed so strong that Theodosius made terms with him, and acknowledged his sovereignty for a number of years. But, not content with a dominion which embraced Britain, Gaul and Spain, Maximus sought, after a time, to add Italy, where the youth, Valentinian II., was still enthroned (at Milan, not Rome), under the tutelage of his mother. Valentinian fled to Theodosius; the eastern emperor adopted his cause, and restored him to his throne, defeating

A. D. 383

Revolts suppressed

the usurper and putting him to death. Four years later Valentinian II. died; another usurper arose, and again Theodosius recovered the throne.

Theodosius was now alone in the sovereignty. The empire was once more, and for the last time, in its full extent, united under a single lord. It remained so for only a few months. At the beginning of the year 395 Theodosius died, and his two weak sons, Arcadius and Honorius, divided the perishing empire between them, only to augment, in its more venerable seat, the distress of the impending fall.

Final division of the empire.
A. D. 395

Arcadius
and
Honorius

Rufinus
and
Stilicho

Arcadius, at the age of eighteen, took the government of the east; Honorius, a child of eleven, gave his name to the administration of the west. Each emperor was under the guardianship of a minister chosen by Theodosius before he died. Rufinus, who held authority at Constantinople, was worthless in all ways; Stilicho, who held the reins at Milan, was a Vandal by birth, a soldier and a statesman of vigorous powers.

Decay of
the western
empire

The west seemed more fortunate than the east, in this division; yet the evil days now fast coming near fell crushingly on the older Rome, while the new Rome lived through them, and endured for a thousand years. No doubt the empire had weakened more on its elder side; had suffered more exhaustion of vital powers. If no swarms of barbaric invaders had been waiting and watching at its doors, and pressing upon it from every point with increasing fierceness, it seems probable that it would have gone to pieces ere long through

mere decay. And if, on the other hand, it could have kept the vigorous life of its best republican days, it might have defied Teuton and Slav forever. But all the diseases, political and social, which the republic engendered in itself, had been consuming the state, with their virulence even increased, since it took on the imperial constitution.

All that imperialism did was to gather waning energies in hand, and make the most of them for external use. It stopped no decay. The industrial palsy, induced by an ever-widening system of slave-labor, continued to spread. Production decreased; the sum of wealth shrunk in the hands of each succeeding generation; and yet the great fortunes and great estates grew bigger from age to age. The gulf between rich and poor opened deeper and wider, and the bridges once built across it by middle-class thrift were fallen down. The burden of imperial government had become an unendurable weight; the provincial municipalities, which had once been healthy centers of a local political life, were strangled by the nets of taxation flung over them. Men sought refuge even in death from the magistracies, which made them responsible to the imperial treasury for revenues that they could not collect. Population dwindled, year by year. Recruiting from the body of citizens for the common needs of the army became more impossible. The state was dependent, at last, on barbaric mercenaries of one tribe for its defense against barbaric invaders of an-

The paralysis of slavery

Crushing imperialism

Barbaric mercenaries

other; and it was no longer able, as of old, to impress its savage servitors with awe of its majesty and its name.

Stilicho, for a time, stoutly breasted the rising flood of disaster. He checked the Picts and Scots of northern Britain, and the Alemanni and their allies on the frontiers of Gaul. But now there arose again the more dreadful barbarian host which had footing in the empire itself, and which Theodosius had taken into pay. The Visigoths elected a king, and were persuaded with ease to carve a kingdom for him, out of the domain which seemed waiting to be snatched from one or both of the feeble monarchs, who sat in mockery of state at Constantinople and Milan. Alaric, the new Gothic king, moved first against the capital on the Bosphorus; but Rufinus persuaded him to pass on into Greece, where he went pillaging and destroying for a year.

Alaric, king
of the Visi-
goths.
A. D. 395

Hodgkin,
*Italy and
her In-
vaders*, bk.
I, ch. xiii-
xvii

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall*,
ch. xxx-xxxix

Stilicho, the one manly defender of the empire, came over from Italy with an army to oppose him; but he was stopped on the eve of battle by orders from the eastern court, which sent him back, as an officious meddler. This act of mischief and malice was the last that Rufinus could do. He was murdered, soon afterward, and Arcadius, being free from his influence, then called upon Stilicho for help. The latter came once more to deliver Greece, and did so with success. But Alaric, though expelled from the peninsula, was neither crushed nor disarmed, and the eastern court made terms with him, for the

Alaric in
Italy.
A. D. 400

moment, by conferring on him the government of that part of Illyricum which nearly coincides with the Servia and Bosnia of the present day. He rested there in peace for four years, and then he called his people to arms again, and led the whole nation, men, women and children, into Italy. The emperor, Honorius, fled from Milan to Ravenna, which, being a safe shelter behind marshes and streams, became the seat of the court thereafter for many years. Stilicho, stripping Britain and Gaul of troops, gathered forces with which, at Eastertide in the year 402, and again in the following year, he defeated the Goths, and forced them to retreat.

Stilicho's,
successes

He had scarcely rested from these exertions, when the valiant Stilicho was called upon to confront a more savage leader, Radagaisus by name, who came from beyond the lines, with a vast swarm of mixed warriors from many tribes pouring after him across the Alps. Again Stilicho, by superior skill, worsted the invaders, entrapping them in the mountains near Fiesole (modern Florence), and starving them there till they yielded themselves to slavery and their chieftain to death.

Radagaisus
A. D. 405

This was the last great service to the dying Roman state which Stilicho was permitted to do. Undermined by the jealousies of the cowardly court at Ravenna, he seems to have lost suddenly the power by which he held himself so high. He was accused of treasonable designs and was seized and executed, by the emperor's command.

Fate of
Stilicho.
A. D. 408

Rome ransomed from the Goths.
A. D. 408

Stilicho dead, there was no one in Italy for Alaric to fear, and he returned across the Alps, with the nation of the Visigoths behind him. There was no resistance to his march, and he advanced straight upon Rome. He did not assail the walls, but sat down before the gates until the starving citizens paid him a great ransom in silver and gold and precious spices and silken robes. With this booty he retired for the winter into Tuscany, where his army was swelled by thousands of fugitive barbarian slaves, and by reinforcements of Goths and Huns. From his camp he opened negotiations with Honorius, demanding the government of Dalmatia, Venetia and Noricum, with certain subsidies of money and corn. The contemptible court, skulking at Ravenna, could neither make war nor make concessions, and exhausted the patience of the barbarian by its puerilities. He marched again to Rome, seized the port of Ostia, with its supplies of grain, and forced the helpless capital to join him in proclaiming a rival emperor. The prefect of the city, one Attalus, accepted the purple at his hands, and played the puppet for a few months in imperial robes. But the scheme proved unprofitable, Attalus was deposed, and negotiations were reopened with Honorius. Their only result was a fresh provocation which sent Alaric once more against Rome, and this time with wrath and vengeance in his heart. Then the great, august capital of the world was entered, through treachery or by surprise, on the night of

A. D. 409

the 24th of August, 410, and suffered all that the lust, the ferocity and the greed of a barbarous army let loose could inflict on an unresisting city. It was her first experience of that supreme catastrophe of war, since Brennus and the Gauls came in; but it was not to be the last.

Alaric and the Goths in Rome. A. D. 410

From the sack of Rome, Alaric moved southward, intending to conquer Sicily; but a sudden illness brought his career to an end.

Death of Alaric. A. D. 410

The empire was now like a dying quarry, pulled down by fierce hunting packs and torn on every side. The Goths were at its throat; the tribes of Germany—Sueves, Vandals, Burgundians, Alans—had leaped the Rhine and swarmed upon its flanks, throughout Gaul and Spain. The inrush began after Stilicho, to defend Italy against Alaric and Radagaisus, had stripped the frontiers of troops. Sueves, Vandals and Alans passed slowly through the provinces, devouring their wealth and making havoc of their civilization as they went. After three years, they had reached and surmounted the Pyrenees, and were spreading the same destruction through Spain.

The barbarians swarming in. A. D. 406-410

The confederated tribes of the Franks had already been admitted as allies into northwestern Gaul, and were settled there in peace. At first, they stood faithful to the Roman alliance, and valiantly resisted the new invasion; but its numbers overpowered them, and their fidelity gave way when they saw the pillage of the doomed provinces going on. Presently they joined the barbarous mob, and with an energy which

Franks

secured the lion's share of plunder and domain.

Burgundians

The Burgundians did not follow the Vandals and Sueves to the southwest, but took possession of the left bank of the middle Rhine, whence they spread gradually into western Switzerland and Savoy, and down the valleys of the Rhone and Saone, establishing in time an important kingdom, to which they gave their name.

Britain

No help from Ravenna or Rome came to the perishing provincials of Gaul in the extremity of their distress; but a pretender arose in Britain, who assumed the imperial title and promised deliverance. He crossed over to Gaul in 407 and was welcomed with eagerness, both there and in Spain, to which he advanced. He gained some success, partly by enlisting and partly by resisting the invaders; but his career was brief. Other pretenders appeared in various provinces of the west; but the anarchy of the time was too great for any authority, legitimate or revolutionary, to establish itself.

Visigothic kingdom in Gaul

And, now, into the tempting country of the afflicted Gauls, already crowded with rapacious freebooters, the Visigoths made their way. Their new king, Ataulph, or Adolphus, who succeeded Alaric, passed into Gaul, but not commissioned, as sometimes stated, to restore the imperial sovereignty there. He moved with his nation, as Alaric had moved, and Italy, by his departure, was relieved; but Narbonne, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and the Aquitainian country at large, was soon subject to his command. He passed the

Pyrenees and entered Spain, where an assassin took his life. His successor, Wallia, drove the Sueves into the mountains and the Vandals into the south; but did not take possession of the country until a later time. The Visigoths, returning to Aquitaine, found there, at last, the kingdom which Alaric set out from the Danube to seek, and they were established in it with the Roman emperor's consent. It was known as the kingdom of Gothia, or Septimania, but is more commonly called, from its capital, the kingdom of Toulouse. It occupied a large part of south-western Gaul.

Affairs in the eastern empire had never arrived at so desperate a state as in the west. With the departure of Alaric, it had been relieved from its most dangerous immediate foe. There had been tumults, disorders, assassinations, court conspiracies, fierce religious strifes, and every evidence of a government with no settled authority and no title to respect; but yet the empire stood and was not yet seriously shaken. In 408 Arcadius died. His death was no loss, though he left an infant son to take his place; for he also left a daughter, Pulcheria, who proved to be a woman of rare virtue and talents, and who reigned in her brother's name.

The eastern
empire

Death of
Arcadius.
A. D. 408

Pulcheria

China

The terrible Huns, now in Europe, had been driven from their ancient seat on the borders of China, about a century after the opening of the Christian era, not so much by the arms of the

Relief from
the Huns

Extent of
the empire

Buddhism

Chinese as by those of a rival horde. At this time the sovereignty of the emperors was acknowledged by subjects or vassals throughout eastern Asia, from Korea to Cochin China (Anam), and successful campaigns had been conducted by their generals as far westward as eastern Turkestan. But after the fall of the Han dynasty, in A. D. 220, three princes and generals divided the empire.

Buddhism, which had made some converts in China before that time, was introduced officially and accepted as an authorized religion in the reign of the emperor Mingti, of the Han dynasty, who sent envoys into India to obtain authentic knowledge of the Buddha and his teaching.

HISTORIC EPOCHS

III

THE EPOCH OF THE NEW NATIONS KNOWN AS THE MIDDLE AGES

(FROM THE GOTHIC CAPTURE OF ROME TO THE
TURKISH CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE THIRD EPOCH

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF ALARIC TO THE ADVENT OF
CHARLEMAGNE

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE ADVENT OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH
OF HILDEBRAND

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF HILDEBRAND TO THE EXILE OF
DANTE

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE EXILE OF DANTE TO THE ADVENT OF
GUTENBURG

CHAPTER XII

THE HISTORICAL WORLD AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE
AGES

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE THIRD EPOCH

It is interesting to note at different periods, and as different peoples become prominent in history, the varying fields of action and modes of expression that offer opportunities for personal distinction to differing characters and powers in men. In the earliest millenniums of history names were saved from oblivion by war and by monumental building,—rarely otherwise,—and the distinction went only to kings. When the Hebrew, the Iranian and the Hindu peoples came on the stage they opened new avenues to honor, in religion and literature, raising prophets and psalmists to an association with princes on the high seats of fame. The Greeks, in their turn, missed religion among the ways to personal eminence, but added art and philosophical thinking, and made literature the broadest path of all. The Romans, when they took possession of the historic arena, may be said to have dropped art and philosophy again from the practicable openings to high distinction, but they made much of law. The path of the poet, which they found very late, they preserved but briefly, and they did not discover the spiritual eminences of a religious life till their career was almost closed.

With the coming of the new races that took pos-

session of the Roman world primitive conditions were brought back. They knew little of any distinction except that which glorified their warrior-chiefs. In time they were taught reverence for holy men and awe for the learned, but that teaching of the Christian church was slow. Meantime their annals and their traditions gave small heed to other personages than their monarchs and men of war.

Attila, died
A. D. 453

First in the grim procession of famous chiefs came Attila, the terrible Hun, the "Scourge of God," the Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied*, the Atli of the *Elder Edda*, who impressed western Europe with a horror and dread that centuries were needed to efface. By reflection from the sinister fame of Attila, a last Roman general, Aëtius, who defeated him at Chalons-sur-Marne, and a strong, impressive pope, Leo I., who persuaded the ruthless savage to leave Rome unassailed, are given a notability that neither would otherwise have had.

Aëtius,
A.D. 396(?)
-454

Pope Leo
the Great,
died A. D.
461

Clovis,
A.D. 465(?)
511

Next, on the darkening mediæval scene, appears Clovis (Chlodwig), founder of the great dominion of the Franks, on which, as a determining base, nearly everything done since, in the political construction of continental Europe between the Pyrenees and the Baltic, the Adriatic and the English Channel, has been merely modifying work. A powerful personality, developed roughly, is manifest in the achievements of Clovis; but little is known otherwise of his traits.

A figure more distinct and much more interest-

ing follows Clovis on the stage. It is that of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, creator of a kingdom in Italy which one cannot see overturned without a sigh of regret. "He added to the daring and energy of a Gothic chief the knowledge gained by a civilized education at Constantinople." "If Goths were his soldiers, Latins were his counselors and administrators, and he chose these among the best and ablest of the Latins,—men like Boethius, Symmachus and Cassiodorus." His reign of thirty-three years, "stained though it was at its close by strange outbreaks of suspicious cruelty, was the first example of a real effort on a large scale, made by the Teutonic conquerors, to pass from barbarism to civilization,—to create out of their conquests 'a fatherland, a city, and a state.'" Tradition represented the reign of Theodoric as a golden age, and he was celebrated for centuries in the popular songs and legends of the whole Teutonic race, as a prince of surpassing wisdom, righteousness and power. He is the Dietrich von Berne of the *Nibelungenlied* and of other Middle High German poems, Berne being the name given in High German to Verona, the northern capital of the Gothic kingdom.

Theodoric,
A.D. 454(?)
-526

Church,
*Beginning
of the Mid-
dle Ages,*
33-34

In one of the "outbreaks of suspicious cruelty" referred to above, Theodoric commanded the death of his counselor, Boethius, the last of the philosophers of the ancient school. The writings of Boethius, especially that on *The Consolations of Philosophy*, parts of which were translated into English by King Alfred and by the poet Chaucer,

Boethius,
died A. D.
524(?)

Cassiodorus, died
A.D. 560(?)

exercised a great influence in Europe for centuries after his death. Symmachus, the father-in-law of Boethius, shared his fate. Cassiodorus, more fortunate, survived Theodoric many years, and left a mass of correspondence which throws valuable light on the conditions of the time.

Justinian,
A. D. 483-
565

The kingdom of Theodoric was extinguished in less than a generation after he died, its downfall the finale of a thrilling drama of war, performed mostly in and around the city of Rome, with its greater actors brought from that surviving Roman empire, in the east, which had been losing historical influence for the past hundred years. Justinian, the emperor at Constantinople, who then made good his pretensions to sovereignty over Italy and the old Rome, is one of the important personages of history who command no respect. Without breadth of understanding, or notable talent of any kind; without courage; without the least nobility of character; without even the virtue of fidelity to his ministers and friends,—this remarkable monarch contrived to be served splendidly by an extraordinary generation of great soldiers, great jurists, great statesmen, who gave a brilliance that was never rivaled while the Byzantine seat of empire stood.

Belisarius,
A.D. 505(?)
-565

Belisarius, who performed the most surprising of the military exploits of Justinian's reign, and who ranks nearly or quite with Hannibal, among the great soldiers of antiquity, had to bear the most shameless ingratitude and jealous ill-treatment at his hands. It is not believed to be true,

as tradition represented, that Belisarius became a blind beggar before his death; but the meanness of his imperial master appears to have been exaggerated very little in that tale. Narses, the eunuch, who succeeded Belisarius in Italy, was not his rival in genius, but a commander, nevertheless, of rare powers.

Narses,
A.D. 478(?)
-573

The rekindled ambitions of the eastern empire in the reign of Justinian were soon quenched. Assailed by new and old foes, it began, in the first half of the seventh century, the long struggle in which it defended an outpost of Europe and the Christian world against Asiatic Islam, heroically and marvelously, for eight hundred years. The first hero of that defense, Heraclius, fought Avars and Persians with extraordinary success, but only to open easier paths of conquest to the armies of the Arabian prophet, then pouring into Syria and beginning their irresistible march.

Heraclius,
A.D. 575(?)
-641

Of the character of Mohammed, who inspired this new and final activity of the Semitic race, in a political-religious movement that has strangely affected the world, it is difficult to form any conception that will satisfy one's mind. His life as disclosed to us gives contradictory signs, of spirituality and of carnality, of mysticism and of artfulness, of the motives of a religious reformer and the aims of an ambitious man. Borrowing from Judaism and from Christianity, he framed a religious system that was adapted with perfection to the wild Arab nature, centered it in himself, and committed its propagandism to the sword.

Moham-
med, A. D.
570(?) -632

Omar,
died A. D.
644
Ali, died
A. D. 661

In his lifetime it made him both temporal and spiritual sovereign of Arabia, and he was planning when he died the career of outer conquest that his caliphs (successors) pursued. It is probable that the armies of Omar, Ali, Caled and Amru did nothing that he would not have approved.

Pope
Gregory the
Great, died
A. D. 604

St. Bene-
dict, died
A. D. 543

St. Augus-
tine of Can-
terbury,
died A. D.
604

St. Patrick,
died A. D.
469

St. Colum-
ba, A. D.
521-597

St. Aidan,
died A. D.
651

While the missionary warriors of Mohammed were carrying the creed of Islam into the heart of Asia, into the provinces of the eastern empire, and through northern Africa into Spain, a very different religious movement in Europe was deepening and broadening the foundations of the Christian church. For this was the period in which a passion for the monastic life, and for the founding of convents and monasteries, well guided by St. Benedict of Nursia, and stimulated by one of the most earnest of popes, Gregory I., called "the Great," became ardent in western Europe and a potent historical force. With the rise of the monasteries came a wakening of missionary zeal, which sent Augustine to the south and Aidan to the north of England, and which there prepared Boniface for apostolic labors that brought half of pagan Germany into the Christian fold. Ireland had been Christianized more than a full century before, and filled with flourishing Christian schools, by St. Patrick, a disciple and missionary from the British church of Roman times. From the Irish church went Columba, to found the Scottish mission and monastery at Iona, and thence went Aidan, with other monks, to the Engles of Northumbria, where a wonderful work

was done. Its fruit was not only a quick conversion of the leading English people to Christian beliefs, but remarkable beginnings of English learning and literature. "All that was spiritual, poetical and thoughtful in the Engles of the north responded to the teaching of the first Irish missionaries, and the monasticism then planted proved most favorable to the refining of the rude genius of that race. Poets, scholars and apostles found their calling and their preparation in the religious communities that rose quickly in the Northumbrian field. Cuthbert, the most lovable of English saints; Cædmon, who became the first of known English poets; Bede,—'the venerable Bede,' as he has always been named with reverence; Alcuin, friend, counselor and teacher of Charlemagne,—these are among the shining names they had placed on the roll of great Englishmen before the eighth century was closed."

St. Cuthbert, died
A. D. 687

Cædmon,
7th century

Larned,
*History of
England*,
p. 31

A few only of many books written by Bede have been preserved; but among the few is one, his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, which has priceless worth. Alcuin went from York to the continent, on the invitation of Charlemagne, to become, not only the head of the "palace school" maintained by that great prince, but to be, in the language of Mr. Bryce, "the prime minister of Charles in matters religious and literary."

Bede, A. D.
673(?)–735

Alcuin,
A. D. 735–
804

And this brings us back to the Franks, who are pursuing their masterful career under a new line of kings. Degenerate descendants of Clovis have been pushed from the throne by a family which

Pepin of
Heristal,
died A. D.
714

Charles
Martel,
died A. D.
741

Pepin the
Short, died
A. D. 768

Charle-
magne,
died A. D.
814.

breeds four generations of powerful men. The series began with Pepin of Heristal, who reunited the Frank dominion, after a long period of division, and ruled it as a nominal servant of the crown. After him came Charles Martel, who, reigning like his father, while appearing to serve, drove the threatening Arabs back to Spain and made new conquests in the north; the second Pepin, who established a portentous alliance of his family with the papacy, and received its permission to take the crown of the Franks to himself; then Charlemagne,—Charles the Great,—restorer of that lost imperial sovereignty, the creation of the Cæsars, which western Europe had missed and felt the need of since it disappeared from Rome;—the most majestic figure in the history of a thousand years. A man of enlightenment beyond his time; a man who strove after order in a disorderly age, and who felt oppressed by the ignorance into which the world had sunk; a seeker after learning, a friend and patron of all in his day who groped in the darkness and felt their way toward the light;—he was, as Mr. Bryce has said, “all great things in one,” and “so great just because the workings of his genius were so harmonious.” “His legislation, his assemblies, his administrative system, his magnificent works, recalling the projects of Alexander and Cæsar, the zeal for education and literature which he showed in the collection of manuscripts, the founding of schools, the gathering of eminent men from all quarters around him, cannot be appreciated apart

from his position as restorer of the Roman empire." "Of strength and stature almost superhuman, in swimming and hunting unsurpassed, steadfast and terrible in fight, to his friends gentle and condescending, he was a Roman, much less a Gaul, in nothing but his culture and his schemes of government; otherwise a Teuton. The center of his realm was the Rhine; his capitals Aachen [Aix-la-Chapelle] and Engilenheim [Ingelheim]; his army Frankish; his sympathies . . . were all for the race from which he sprang."

Bryce,
*The Holy
Roman
Empire,*
72-73

To see "the most majestic figure" of the epoch in Charlemagne is not to deny a still higher place to Alfred, of England, who represents greatness of a more exalted type. The arena of King Alfred's life and the compass of his achievements were small compared with Charlemagne's; but his difficulties demanded more of heroic powers, and they were blended in his nature with a selflessness and a saintliness of spirit that have never been surpassed. The beautiful and inspiring example of his life, devoted unsparingly to thoughtful and patient labors for his people, to encourage them, to bring knowledge to them, to secure them in social order and public peace, by watchful government and just laws, had an influence that augmented all the fruits of his wise statesmanship. In the judgment of Professor Freeman, Alfred's "is the most perfect character in history," no other on record having ever "so thoroughly united all the virtues both of the ruler and the private man."

Alfred the
Great, A.D.
849-901

Freeman,
*Norman
Conquest,*
ch. ii

Otho the
Great, A.D.
912-973

After Charlemagne and Alfred we drop back to a lower plane of character in the actors who perform leading parts on the political stage. Charlemagne's imperial dignity, lost by his descendants, was revived or renewed in another house. The Germanic crown passed from the Franks to their late subjects, the Saxons, and Otho I., the second of the Saxon dynasty, won again from Rome the crown that was supposed to be a symbol of the imperial sovereignty of the Cæsars, joining it to the regal crown of Germany, in an association that was maintained for eight hundred and forty-four years. Otho was an able and vigorous prince, but he had nothing of the largeness and fine grain of mind which interested Charlemagne and Alfred in literature and schools, and in the life and thought and knowledge of the past.

Hugh
Capet,
died A. D.
996

In the Gallic part of the old Frank dominion there were beginnings at this time of the evolution of modern France. A duke of Francia and count of Paris, Hugh Capet, elected to a kingship which was hardly more than titular in his day and long after him, was founding, nevertheless, a seat of government and a dynasty around which a great and enduring nation grew up. Circumstances gave him an historical importance; but little of distinction is known of the man.

In part of that which time would amalgamate into the nation of France, another evolution of immense importance to history was going on. It started in the early years of the tenth century, from a seizure of territory between the Seine and

the Epte, by Rolf or Rollo, the grim Norse viking; it produced the powerful duchy of Normandy, and the powerful brood of Norman-French, whose bold energy carried them wherever adventure and advancement were to be found, and whose active brains made them leaders and winners wherever they went. Duke Rollo, as the generator of a mighty force in European history, is entitled to a marked place in our roll.

Rollo,
died A. D.
930(?)

Not for what he did, but for what he was, the roll must include another of the same strong Scandinavian race. This was Cnut, or Canute, the Danish king who reigned for a score of years in England, which his father had invaded and subdued. He began his reign barbarously; but everything in his character seemed then to undergo a marvelous change. "He shed his barbarism like a garment; he became merciful, magnanimous, careful of the welfare of his people,—a Christian statesman and a patriot king, who won the affection of his English subjects more than any, after Alfred, of their own royal race."

Canute,
died A. D.
1035

Not long after the death of Canute the English recovered independence; but lost it again at the end of a single reign. William, the sixth duke of Normandy, known afterward as "the Conqueror," who then subjugated England, overthrowing and slaying its elected king, the unfortunate Harold, established his possession of the throne so securely that his blood is in the veins of English royalty to this day. It was an admirable ability in the man, a clear-minded sagacity, an immovable resolute-

Larned,
*History of
England*,
p. 46

Harold,
died A. D.
1066

William the
Conqueror,
A. D. 1027-
1087

ness, that enabled him to accomplish one of the few perfect conquests of history; but nothing else in his hard character can be admired.

The Guiscards, died
1085, 1101

The perishable work of the Guiscards, Robert and Roger, his fellow Normans of the same generation, who went to the battle-grounds of southern Italy and Sicily and carved a duchy and a kingdom for themselves, may have been done with equal vigor of will and mind, but shows nothing of the political foresight that shaped William's constructive plans.

The restless energy that acted in these and other adventures of the time was intensified presently and moved to a great common undertaking, in the Crusades. Unchristianized Asia had challenged Christian Europe again, as it did when the Arabs came out of their deserts, and Europe, now knitted by the ecclesiastical organization of Rome into one religious community, ran eagerly to the combat. The new challengers—champions of Islam—were a more formidable force than the Arabs; slower in every way, but stronger, weightier, more enduring, more to be feared. The heavy Turkish hand which Seldjuk, Togrul Beg and Alp Arslan had laid on Western Asia and the holy places of the Christian faith was one which an excited Christian chivalry might loosen for a time, but would strive in vain to cast off. It is possible that a leader like William the Conqueror might have used the crusading forces that Europe offered in the twelfth century with lasting results, in the Levant; but

Seldjuk,
10th cen-
tury



Mohammed
From an old print



Pope Gregory I
From engraving in British Museum



Alfred the Great
From engraving in Hall Collection



William the Conqueror
From an ancient effigy

no such leader appeared. Among the chiefs of the early movements not one could dominate the rivalries and jealousies that made valor unavailing. In character, Godfrey of Bouillon represents the best leadership found in the first crusade; but he died too soon for much showing of his capacity to deal with the situation after Jerusalem had been won. Two sovereigns of ability led armies in the third crusade; but Frederick Barbarossa, the emperor, perished on the way, and Philip Augustus of France, after quarrels with King Richard of England, withdrew from the movement in disgust. As for the famous Richard Cœur de Lion, he was only a fighter, with scant brains and not much useful substance of any kind. The two personages that stand out with most distinction in the story of the early crusades,—one for ability and the other for nobility,—belong, not to the west, but to the east. One is the cunning, perfidious Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenus, who plucked the best of the fruits of western valor, cheating the crusaders at every turn. The other is the knightly Saladin, whose magnanimity put Christian chivalry to shame.

Godfrey of
Bouillon,
A. D. 1061-
1100

Richard
Cœur de
Lion, A. D.
1157-1199

Alexius
Comnenus,
A. D. 1048-
1118

Saladin,
A. D. 1137-
1193

The ablest monarch of the time, Henry II. of England, took no part in the crusades, troubles with his turbulent son, Richard Cœur de Lion, having kept him at home and shortened his life. His reign had been a busy one, partly in wars, partly in much more useful work. England owed to him, more than to any other in her history, the incomparable system of English law and English courts.

Henry II.,
of England,
A. D. 1133-
1189

Frederick
Barbarossa
died A. D.
1189

Frederick Barbarossa, the Germanic king and emperor, had more popular fame, and became the subject of myth and legend in Germany to an unaccountable extent. His whole reign was one of fierce warfare with his own subjects,—with the nobles of his immediate kingdom, and with the free cities of Italy, whose liberties he spent his life in attempting to destroy. On the other hand, to strengthen himself against the powerful princes of Germany, he showed favor to the rising cities of that country, enlarging their franchises and becoming the chief creator of those “imperial free cities” which bore an important part in later German history. This was a lasting monument to his memory, while the graves and ruins that marked the route of his many expeditions into Italy were soon effaced.

Philip
Augustus,
A. D. 1165-
1223

A third contemporary sovereign of note was Philip Augustus of France, who began the systematic aggrandizement of the crown at the expense of great vassals, which went on through subsequent reigns, till a national instead of a feudal monarchy was built up. His main achievement was the wresting of Normandy, Brittany and Anjou from the evil English king, John.

John, of
England,
died A. D.
1216

John was the ablest of the sons of Henry II.; but the depravity of his nature was a cause of weakness in him, to such a degree that he suffered defeat and failure in everything that he touched. He lost most of the broad continental dominions of his house; he was humbled to disgrace in a quarrel with the pope; and his attempts to be a

despot in England resulted in the great charter of constitutional government which his subjects compelled him to sign.

Europe seems troubled enough in these times, and bleeding enough; but its condition is peace and happiness compared with that of central and eastern Asia, where the savage Tatar conqueror Temujin, called Genghis Khan, is pursuing his horrible career, butchering millions, and subjugating a vast belt of the continent, from Manchuria to Afghanistan. To the eye of a general surveyor of history, the empire of Genghis Khan and his son Okkodai, who doubled it, seems nothing but a weltering expanse of blood; but Mr. Howorth, who has made an elaborate study of Mongol history, assures us that the Tatar Napoleon was more than a destructive conqueror. "In every detail of social and political economy," says Mr. Howorth, "he was a creator; his laws and his administrative rules are equally admirable and astounding to the student."

Genghis
Khan, A.D.
1162-1227

Howorth,
History of
the Mongols
I : 113

Kublai Khan, a grandson of Genghis, who reigned half a century later in the far eastern part of the vast Mongol dominion,—in China, that is, and neighboring countries,—had acquired a power, a wealth, and a magnificence of state which nothing in Europe seemed to match. As described by the adventurous Venetian merchant, Marco Polo, who spent some years at his court, its splendors excited the imagination of the age, and awoke the lively interest in Cathay and the Indies which, at last, sent Columbus to America

Kublai
Khan, A.D.
1216-1294

Marco,
Polo, A. D.
1254-1324

and Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope.

We are now within a period in which the Christian church, organized under the headship of its Roman bishop of bishops, the pope, and exerting its profoundest influence through innumerable monasteries and convents,—the most powerful agency then working in the world,—had raised its clergy to a standing which commanded the deference of all orders and ranks, and made the paths to distinction through its schools and its offices as inviting as the rougher trackways of politics and war. Conditions had been reached in the eleventh century under which an earnest, strong man in the papacy,—a man of fearless spirit, of determined will and of clear brain,—could make a startling revelation of the power of the church; and such a man came to it when the monk Hildebrand was chosen pope, in 1073, after he had guided the previous church government from Rome for more than a score of years. That he humbled the emperor-king of Germany, Henry IV., is not his title to immortality; though that famous scene of the barefooted emperor in the snow at Canossa is one that must have stayed long in the memory and imagination of men, at the bottom of the awe with which they contemplated the church and its head. That alone would have had no lasting effect; but Hildebrand (Gregory VII. by official title) impregnated the papacy with a spirit that has never been lost; imbued it with conceptions of supremacy and

Pope
Gregory
VII., died
A. D. 1085

Henry IV.,
of Germany
A. D. 1050-
1106

authority that are active in it yet, and fastened rules of discipline on its policy that have determined the whole character of the Roman church. "Gregory VII. did not aim," says Bishop Creighton, "at securing the papal monarchy over the church; that had been established since the days of Nicholas I. [pope, 858-867]. He aimed at asserting the freedom of the church from the worldly influences which benumbed it, by setting up the papacy as a power strong enough to restrain church and state alike."

Creighton,
*History of
the Papacy*,
1:15

The ideas and aims of Hildebrand were almost realized to the full in the next century, so far as concerned a supreme independence and power in the papal office, by Innocent III., who was, more nearly than any other pope has been, a dictator to western Christendom, in both spiritual and temporal affairs. "If Hildebrand was the Julius, Innocent was the Augustus, of the papal empire."

Pope Inno-
cent III.,
A. D. 1161-
1216

The exaltation of the church, its prelates and its scholars, is manifested in and after the eleventh century by a rapid multiplication of distinguished clerical names. Bishops and abbots become increasingly prominent and influential in all public affairs; and voices of learning and piety rise with more and more of historical distinctness from monastic cells and schools. In England, within little more than a century, the archbishopric of Canterbury was held by four men who made their office so real a "primacy" that they stood, in dignity and commanding authority, not much below the kings. Lanfranc was the Con-

Lanfranc,
died A. D.
1089

- Anselm,
A. D. 1033-
1109 queror's chief counselor and minister; Anselm, one of the founders of scholasticism, gave luster to the primacy in the next reigns by his learning, by his piety, and by the resoluteness of his opposition to the wicked "red king;" Becket died tragically in contention with Henry II., and the church extorted from his proud adversary a penitential homage at his tomb; Stephen Langton led barons, clergy and people in their rising against Henry's son, John, and won the Great Charter on which constitutional government in England was built up. History elsewhere, within the Roman jurisdiction, became filled hardly less in the same period with high clerical names. At large, in western Europe, the most commanding personality of the time, after Hildebrand passed away, was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, reformer of monasticism, guardian of church orthodoxy, and counselor-in-general to prelates and kings.
- Becket,
A. D. 1118-
1170
- Stephen
Langton,
died A. D.
1228
- St. Bernard
of Clair-
vaux, died
A. D. 1153

With the birth of the universities came a great educational change, which gave teaching a new character and teachers a new standing in the world. It signified a freer and larger giving of the instruction which the church still conducted, looking less exclusively to the preparation of a body of clergy, more to other objects of education; and the lecturers who drew crowds of students were among the most famous and influential men of their time. Early and most notable of these new missionaries of learning was Abelard, the extraordinary young man who could, at the age of twenty-two, set up a school of his own, and

Abelard,
A. D. 1079-
1142

who fired half the student world of Europe with enthusiasm by his eloquence, his daring ingenuity of logic, and his personal charm.

Following the educational movement, one of spiritual awakening occurred. Society became newly impressionable to the influence of pure self-forgetful piety, in the lives of such exemplars as St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic, founders of the mendicant orders of *frères*, or friars, known as the Franciscan and Dominican. These orders drew many of the finest minds and noblest spirits of the time into their ranks. The labor of the Dominicans was devoted largely to teaching, and their school at Cologne, under the famous scholar and theologian, Albertus Magnus, produced the more renowned Thomas Aquinas, called sometimes "the angelic doctor," sometimes "the universal doctor," sometimes "the father of moral philosophy,"—always with superlatives of praise. On their part the Franciscans could boast of Roger Bacon, the one real man of science in mediæval times; but they condemned his writings and put him into penitential confinement for years.

In one of the intellectual developments of these centuries the all-controlling church had less part, perhaps, than in any other. Generally, it was from outside of her clerical body that the burst of poetical and romantic literature, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occurred. The *trouveres*, *troubadours*, *minnesingers*, *minstrels* and others who entertained the courts and castles

St. Francis
of Assisi,
A. D. 1182-
1226

St. Dominic
A. D. 1170-
1221

Albertus
Magnus,
died A. D.
1280

Thomas
Aquinas,
died 1274

Roger
Bacon,
A. D. 1214-
1294

Chrestien
de Troyes,
late in 12th
century

Walter
Map, died
A. D.
1210(?)

Wolfram
von
Eschen-
bach, died
A. D. 1220

Geoffrey of
Monmouth
early in
12th
century

Walther
von
Vogelweide
12th-13th
centuries

Simon de
Montfort,
A. D. 1208-
1265

Edward I
of England
A. D. 1239-
1307

of the age with song and story, in verse and prose, were mostly men of the world and not of the church. Of the three really eminent poets, Chrestien de Troyes, in France, Walter Map, in England, and Wolfram von Eschenbach, in Germany, who are supposed to have "put the soul of poetry and spirituality into the crude legends of King Arthur, as Geoffrey of Monmouth had gathered them up," Walter Map, only, was an ecclesiastic. Wolfram was of noble birth; and so was Walther von Vogelweide, the best of the German lyrical poets of the same generation.

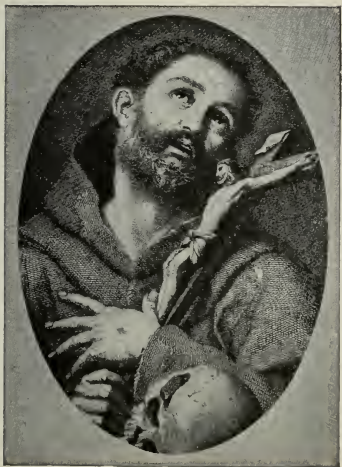
If we return now to the political arenas, we find in the thirteenth century a shining period, fertile and fortunate in producing public characters of the better stamp. England fared happily in obtaining men to carry forward the constitutional work which Langton and his colleagues had begun. Simon de Montfort, who came from France, but with English blood in his veins, may not have been wholly patriotic and unselfish in his aims; but the value of what he did, in its suggestion of a true parliamentary constitution to the able king who came soon afterward to the English throne, is beyond any measure in words. Edward I., realizing with kingly authority the "model parliament" which De Montfort had planned, deserves to be looked upon as the practical founder of representative government, in the form developed by the English race, and given by it to the civilized world at large. In that view



Richard I
From engraving by Vertue



Henry II
From engraving by Vertue



St. Francis
From old engraving, Hall Collection



Edward I
From engraving by Vertue

his seat of honor is next to Alfred's, in the whole line of English kings.

When Edward I. received the English crown, France had just buried the saintly Louis IX., the noblest and greatest of her kings. In the wisdom of his government he was hardly less eminent than in the purity of his character and life. Marcus Aurelius, the Roman emperor, and King Alfred of England, are the only sovereigns who seem worthy to be compared with him; and even the purity of those rare souls is not quite so simple and selfless, perhaps, as that which shines in the beautiful nature of this most Christian king. His goodness was of that quality which rises to greatness—above all other measures of greatness in the distinction of men. It was of that quality which even a wicked world is compelled to feel and to bend to as a power, far exceeding the power of statecraft and the sword.

Louis IX.
(St. Louis),
of France,
A. D. 1215-
1270

During part of his reign St. Louis was contemporary with another sovereign of remarkable distinction, but singularly contrasted with himself. Of all who ever wore the Germanic imperial crown,—the crown of what Frederick Barbarossa had named "The Holy Roman Empire,"—Frederick II. appears to have been the most brilliant, the most nearly a man of genius in his temperament and his powers. His character was not exemplary; his career was not successful; in a long struggle with the papacy he not only suffered personal defeat, but he left the empire a wreck, its prestige as the inheritor of Roman

Frederick
II., emperor,
A. D.
1194-1250

Freeman,
*Historical
Essays*, I:
essay 10

sovereignty gone forever; but his personality is singularly interesting, as that of a man who seems to be wholly modern in mind and spirit, set down in mediæval times. "Frederick," says Mr. Freeman, "belongs to no age; intellectually he is above his own age, above every age; morally it can hardly be denied that he was below his age; but in nothing was he of his age."

Rodolph of
Hapsburg,
A. D. 1218-
1291

After Frederick II. there was no man of much mark on the imperial throne for a number of generations; nor in the kingship of Germany, except Rodolph of Hapsburg, who never went to Rome for the papal coronation. Rodolph was a vigorous prince; but his chief distinction is from his ancestral relation to a family that has won and worn more crowns than ever came to another, — a family of abnormal tentacular ability to grasp and hold dominions, titles, marriage connections and whatever makes for importance and dignity in the political world.

Othman,
died A. D.
1326

The century and more that remains of the epoch we survey was a time of turmoil, of violence, of wretchedness, in all social conditions; a time when hard and fierce ambitions prevailed more than commonly in public affairs. Christianity and civilization in eastern Europe and Asia Minor had to contend again with a new swarming of Turkish forces, and Othman, Orkhan, the Amuraths and Mohammeds were founding that Ottoman empire which burdens the world to this day.

For a few years the advance of the Turks was



Louis IX (St. Louis)
From a fresco by Giotto



Frederick II
From engraving by J. Outrier



Henry V
From Bust in Westminster Abbey



Jeanne d'Arc

interrupted by the demoniac Timour, or Tamerlane, who raged through Asia with a host of Mongol Tatars, as Genghis Khan had done, but more ferociously, if possible, with less achievement of anything but the tracks of death and desolation that he marked across the tortured continent, from the Ganges to the Ural Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea.

Timour,
A. D. 1333-
1405

Large parts of Europe were not much happier. France, in a hundred years of merciless war, may have suffered on the whole even more from the wicked ambitions of Edward III. and Henry V., of England, than any part of Asia suffered from Tatars and Turks. England gained finally nothing but the glory of a few battles that were butcheries to the beaten side; yet Edward III. and Henry V. are written into English history with gilded names.

Henry V.,
of England,
A. D. 1387-
1422

Edward
III., of
England,
A. D. 1312-
1377

One beautiful gift to history was made by the "Hundred Years War," in the character of Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of Orleans. As knightly in spirit as Bayard or Sidney, as pure in mind and as perfect in faith as St. Louis, as wise in her simple counsels and commands as any statesman could be, the inspired peasant girl of Domremy is a heroine more satisfying to the imagination than any ideal creation of romance could be.

Jeanne
d'Arc,
A. D. 1412-
1431

As though by a just judgment, the English, when driven from France, were afflicted for a generation with intermittent civil war. The "Wars of the Roses," a conflict of jealousies and selfish ambitions in powerful families, show noth-

Margaret
of Anjou,
A. D. 1430-
1482

ing to be admired or respected, except the faithful courage with which Margaret of Anjou fought for her demented husband and her young son. They brought, in the first instance, a worthless libertine to the English throne, and they gave a brief and famous but unworthy career to one man, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who might, perhaps, in different circumstances, have left a really distinguished name.

Warwick,
"the king-
maker,"
died A. D.
1471

Italy, in all parts, was torn by quarrels and contests of every kind that can arise from the meaner passions of men. At the north, raging factions, Ghibelline and Guelf, Bianchi and Neri; at the south, interminable struggles for possession of the Neapolitan crown; at Rome, anarchy,—the city abandoned by the popes for seventy years, and hardly bettered by their return; everywhere the country ravaged and pillaged by roving "free companies" of hireling soldiers, who served the rivalries, the hates, the grasping ambitions that were rife on all sides. Out of the welter of anarchy at Rome arose Cola di Rienzi, with enough of high-souled ardors for an heroic undertaking, but wanting in that substance of character that resists the intoxication of a great momentary success. Depraved and corrupted Rome was no more capable of exercising the freedom or appreciating the order which he gave it, for a brief term, than he was capable of organizing a government that could endure.

Rienzi, died
A. D. 1354

Bohemia became the seat of the most hideous of religious civil wars, consequent on the martyr-

dom of John Huss, and the Hussite leaders, Ziska and the warrior-priest Procopius, won a fearful renown. Hungary, at the same time, fought desperately with the advancing Turks, and its greatest warrior and hero, John Huniades, was winning a better fame.

Ziska, died
A. D. 1424

Huniades,
A. D. 1387-
1456

The closing tragedy of the epoch is the fall of Constantinople and the heroic death of its last Christian sovereign, the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XIII., who did not yield the city to its Moslem conqueror till he yielded his life.

Constantine XIII.,
A. D. 1394-
1453

But all this bloody and tempestuous record belongs only to the surface history of Europe in the fourteenth century and half of the fifteenth. In pain and wretchedness for millions it went deep at the time; but there was a deeper history, that carried more of what reached into the future of the world. For underneath all the turbulence and war, there were quickenings of mind and stirrings of spirit that tended rapidly toward a great change in the very quality of the civilization of mankind, and in the promises it bore.

Wiclif, died
A. D. 1384

Wiclif, in England, broke the seal of a dead language from the Bible, opened it to common reading by translation, and started movements of independence in thought, both religious and political, that have been persistent from his day. John Huss and Jerome of Prague carried the teachings of Wiclif into central Europe, at the cost of their lives, and the fire of their martyrdom was one which cast an awakening light on the evil of the tyrannies in the church.

Huss, A. D.
1369-1415

Jerome of
Prague,
died A. D.
1416

Dante,
A. D. 1265-
1321

Petrarch,
A. D. 1304-
1374

Boccaccio,
A. D. 1313-
1375

Chaucer,
died A. D.
1400

Langland,
died A. D.
1400

Gower,
A. D. 1325-
1408

Chartier,
died A. D.
1435

Froissart,
A. D. 1337
1410

Pisano,
died A. D.
1278

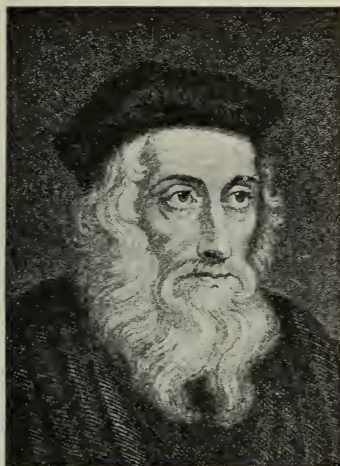
Giotto,
A. D. 1276-
1337

Van Eycks,
died A. D.
1426, 1440

Some great new inspiration in the age appeared, too, in the splendid literature that came almost suddenly from the two languages, Italian and English, that had been slowest in escaping from the contempt and neglect of the educated and literary class. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, in Italy, Chaucer, Langland, Gower, in England, with Barbour in the neighbor country at the north,—what a light-giving galaxy they are, shining through the clouds of that storm-beaten fourteenth century, to brighten its distressful years! France, a little later, received poetry of the new order from Alain Chartier and from Charles of Orleans; and the perfecting of French prose was begun by Froissart, the chronicler, and by Chartier. A great ballad literature, that sprang from countless unnamed sources, in all parts of Europe, reached its acme in these times; while the drama, starting far back in earlier centuries, from crude religious representations of miracles and “mysteries,” began to take on a more literary form, in allegorical “morality plays.”

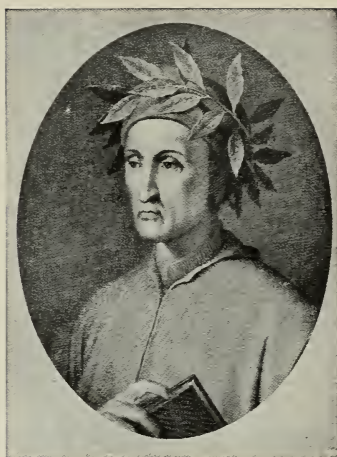
Before this epoch ended the renaissance of art had been opened fully, and such masters as Nicola Pisano, in sculpture and architecture, Giotto, in painting, sculpture and architecture, and the Flemish Van Eycks, Hubert and Jan, in painting, had done their work.

In some of the last years of the epoch Saint Thomas à Kempis, the Augustine monk, is believed to have written *The Imitation of Christ*,



Wiclif

From engraving by White



Dante

From portrait by Raphael



Petrarch

From painting by Tofanelli



Chaucer

From portrait by Krämer

—the book which, more than any other save the Bible, has been for four centuries and a half a wellspring of spiritual strength and comfort to meditative souls.

Thomas à
Kempis,
died A. D.
1471

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF ALARIC TO THE ADVENT OF CHARLEMAGNE

(A. D. 410 to 768)

The period of the "dark ages."—Differing effects of the barbaric conquest. *Last years of the Roman empire in the west:* Attila, the Hun.—The Vandals in Rome.—End of the western line of emperors. *Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric:* Its brevity.—Hostility of the church. *The Roman empire in the east:* Reign of Justinian.—Belisarius.—Narses.—Recovery of Rome and Italy. *Britain, and its conquest by German tribes:* Roman occupation and abandonment of the island.—Pict, Scot and Saxon assailants.—Conquest by Jutes, Saxons and Engles.—Extinction of Christianity. *Spread and influence of Monasticism:* Irish schools and missions.—Christian missionaries in England. *The kingdom of the Franks:* Conquests of Clovis.—The Merovingian dynasty.—Austrasia and Neustria.—Rise of the mayors of the palace.—The ancestry of Charlemagne. *Mohammed, and the conquests of Islam:* The Arabian prophet and his religion.—First century of Mohammedan conquests.—The Caliphs. *China and its neighbors:* Taitsoong the Great. *The Roman empire in the east:* Its struggle with Persians, Avars and Arabs.—Final separation of Rome. *Italy and Rome:* Lombard conquest of Italy.—How the bishops of Rome acquired authority and power.—Their alliance with the chiefs of the Franks.

In what differing degrees the migrant northern tribes which invaded southwestern Europe in the fifth century were "barbarians," as the Romans styled them, and with how much of barbarity their dreadful breaking and overturning of society in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, the Netherlands, and the provinces along the Danube, was done, cannot be told. Except by inference from the consequences that appeared in later times, there is little on these points to be learned. Conjecture and imagination paint pictures of "dark ages," then and after, which may not be true; the darkness may have been less and it may have been deeper than we surmise; but the very poverty of

The period
of the "dark
ages"

the annals of the period affords proof that a real cloud of great darkness did rest upon the land. The state of things for some centuries was too disordered, and social conditions too rude and depressed, for much historical recording to be done. Something is traceable of the doings of chiefs, and of the wars in which new kingdoms were made and unmade; but direct information concerning the general circumstances of the time, among the subjugated peoples and among their masters, and concerning the relations between the two, is seldom to be had.

It is certain that the circumstances differed widely in the several provinces, the experience of Britain, for example, differing greatly from that of Gaul. Parts of Gaul and of neighboring districts which came early into the possession of the Franks appear to have suffered least, while Britain suffered most. Old and new—Roman and Teutonic—institutions and influences seem to have been most commingled and interfused in the regions which the Franks laid hands on alone. It was there that the resultant conditions appear to have settled soonest to something like a permanent state, and that the reorganization of European society received its determined moulding into the feudal form. On the other hand, it was in Britain that Roman civilization perished most entirely, and the purest development of Teutonic institutions occurred.

Differing
effects
of the
barbaric
conquest

The little light to be seen anywhere during these dark centuries in western Europe glimmers

Work of the
Christian
church

mostly from the institutions of the Christian church. The church was refined by the trials of the time; its spiritual energies were called out; it recognized and accepted a great missionary task. If the wild blood of the intrusive barbarians was to be tamed, their temper and their manners softened, the church must do it, by winning their hearts and commanding their belief. It rose with noble earnestness to the occasion, and did a work of real conversion,—rather moral and intellectual than purely religious, perhaps,—with extraordinary success. It made itself the keeper, in its monasteries and cathedral schools, of all that could be saved from the wreck of learning, letters, arts, and the happy serenities of life. It preserved, too, and strengthened in the world, the precious moral force that acts from an authority not dependent on physical power. For that spiritual domination which the church established, and which centered itself in the bishops of Rome, worked for good in these centuries, by the check that it put on brute force in the world.

Last Years of the Roman empire in the west

The eastern
and west-
ern empires

For some time after the western Roman provinces succumbed to the onset of the northern tribes, Italy, the seat of the expiring Roman authority, escaped formal subjugation, and the imperial court at Ravenna was not shorn of power entirely till half a century after Alaric's death. Honorius, feeble son of the able Theodosius, lived

fifteen years longer than his brother Arcadius, whose death relieved the eastern empire in 408. In both parts of the empire the removal of nerveless males from the throne brought brave and capable women to the front of affairs. In the east, Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius, ruled, first as regent for an infant brother, then by the influence of her stronger character over him, and finally as empress after he died. In the west, Placidia, daughter of Theodosius and mother of an infant who inherited the throne of her brother, Honorius, ruled at Ravenna for a fourth of a century in the name of her child. The reign of Placidia was stronger than her wretched brother's had been, because she gave loyal support to a valiant and able man who stood at her side. Aetius, her minister, did all, perhaps, that man could do to hold some parts of Gaul, and to play barbarian against barbarian—Hun against Goth and Frank—in skillful diplomacy and courageous war. But nothing that he won was any lasting gain.

Pulcheria,
A. D. 408-
453

Placidia,
A. D. 423-
450

Aetius

In his youth, Aetius had been a hostage in the camps of both the Goths and the Huns, and had made acquaintances among the chieftains of both which served his policy many times. He had employed the terrible Huns in the early years of his ministry, and perhaps they had learned too much of the weakness of the Roman state. These most fearful of all the barbarian peoples then surging in Europe had been settled, for some years, in the region since called Hungary, under

The Huns

Attila

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall of the
Roman
Empire*, ch.
xxxiv-v

Attila, their most formidable king. Attila terrorized all the surrounding lands and exercised a lordship from the Caspian to the Baltic and the Rhine. The imperial court at the east stooped to pay him annual tribute for abstaining from the invasion of its domain. But in 450, when the regent Pulcheria became empress in the east, by her brother's death, and married a brave old soldier, Marcian, in order to give him the governing power, a new tone was heard in the voice from Constantinople which answered Attila's demands.

Attila in
Gaul

The Hun then appears to have seen that the sinking empire in the west offered a more certain victim to his terrors and his arms, and he turned them to that side. First forming an alliance with the Vandals (who had crossed from Spain to Africa and had established a kingdom on the Carthaginian ground), Attila led his huge army into suffering Gaul. There were Ostrogoths, and warriors from many German tribes, as well as Huns, in the terrific host; for Attila's arms stretched far, and his subjects were forced to follow when he led. His coming into Gaul affrighted Romans and barbarians alike, and united them in a common defense. Aetius formed an alliance with Theodoric, the Visigothic king, and their forces were joined by Burgundians and Franks. They met Attila near Chalons, and there, on a day in June, A. D. 451, upon the Catalaunian fields, was fought a battle that is always counted among the few which gave shape to all subsequent history. The Huns were beaten back, and

Battle at
Chalons,
A. D. 451



PILLAGE OF A ROMAN VILLA BY HUNS

From the painting by Georges Rochegrosse

Europe was saved from the hopeless night that must have followed a Tatar conquest in that age.

Attila retreated to Germany, foiled but not daunted. The next year he invaded Italy and laid siege to Aquileia, an important city which stood in his path. It resisted for three months and was then destroyed. The few inhabitants who escaped, with fugitives from neighboring ports, found a refuge in some islands of the Adriatic coast, and formed there a sheltered settlement which grew into the great city and republican state of Venice. Aetius made strenuous exertions to gather forces for another battle with the Huns; but the resources of the empire had sunk very low. While he labored to collect troops, the effect of a pacific embassy was tried, and it went forth to the camp of Attila, led by the venerable bishop of Rome—the first powerful pope—Leo I., called the Great. The impression which Leo made on the Hunnish king, by his venerable presence and by the persuasiveness of his words, appears to have been extraordinary. At all events, Attila consented to postpone his designs on Rome; though he demanded and received promise of an annual tribute. The next winter he died, and Rome was troubled by the Huns no more.

Attila in
Italy

Origin of
Venice

Pope Leo
the Great

But another enemy came who rivaled Attila in ruthlessness, and who gave a name to barbarity which it has kept to this day. The Vandals, passing from Spain into Africa, had made a complete conquest of the old Carthaginian territory,

Rome
sacked by
the
Vandals,
A. D. 455

between the years 429 and 439, and had established their kingdom there. The Vandal king, Genseric, a peculiarly ruthless barbarian, now swept the Mediterranean with a piratical fleet. Boldly sailing up the Tiber, he found the Roman capital powerless to resist his attack. The venerable Pope Leo again interceded for the city, and obtained a promise that captives should not be tortured nor buildings burned,—which was the utmost stretch of mercy that the Vandal could afford. Once more, then, was Rome given up, for fourteen days and nights, to pillage and the horrors of barbaric debauch. “Whatever had survived the former sack,—whatever the luxury of the Roman patriciate, during the intervening forty-five years, had accumulated in reparation of their loss,—the treasures of the imperial palace, the gold and silver vessels employed in the churches, the statues of pagan divinities and men of Roman renown, the gilded roof of the temple of Capitolian Jove, the plate and ornaments of private individuals, were leisurely conveyed to the Vandal fleet and shipped off to Africa.”

Sheppard,
*The Fall of
Rome*, 250

The Vandal invasion had been preceded, in the same year, by a palace revolution which brought the dynasty of Theodosius to an end. Placidia was dead, and her unworthy son, Valentinian III., provoked assassination by dishonoring the wife of a wealthy senator, Maximus, who mounted to his place. Maximus was slain by a mob at Rome, just before the Vandals entered the city. The empire in the west was now without a head, and

Barbarian
masters of
Rome

the throne without an heir. In former times, the senate or the army would have filled the vacant imperial seat; now, it was a barbarian monarch, Theodoric, the Visigothic king, who made choice of a successor to the cæsars. He named a Gallic noble, Avitus by name, who had won his esteem, and the nomination was confirmed by Marcian, emperor in the east.

But the influence of Theodoric in Roman affairs was soon rivaled by that of Count Ricimer, another Goth, or Sueve, who held high command in the imperial army, and who resented the elevation of Avitus. The latter was deposed, after reigning a single year, and Majorian, a soldier of really noble and heroic character, was promoted to the throne. He was too great and too sincere a man to be Ricimer's tool, and the same hand which raised him threw him down, after he had reigned four years. He was in the midst of a powerful undertaking against the Vandals when he perished. Majorian was the last emperor in the western line who deserves to be named.

Count
Ricimer

Majorian,
A. D. 457-
461

Ricimer ruled Italy, with the rigor of a despot, under the modest title of patrician, until 472. His death was followed by the rise of another general of the barbarian troops, Orestes, to like autocracy, and he, in turn, gave way to a third, Odoacer, who slew him and took his place. The creatures, half a dozen in number, who put on and put off the purple robe, at the command of these adventurers, who played with the majesty of Rome, need no further mention. The last of them

The last
of the
emperors
in the west,
A. D. 475-
476

was Romulus Augustulus, son of Orestes, who escaped his father's fate by resigning the throne.

Romulus Augustulus was the last Roman emperor in the west, until Charlemagne revived the title, three centuries and a quarter later. "The succession of the western emperors came to an end, and the way in which it came to an end marks the way in which the names and titles of Rome were kept on, while all power was passing into the hands of the barbarians. The Roman senate voted that one emperor was enough, and that the eastern emperor, Zeno, should reign over the whole empire. But at the same time Zeno was made to intrust the government of Italy, with the title of patrician, to Odoacer. . . . Thus the Roman empire went on at Constantinople, or New Rome, while Italy and the Old Rome itself passed into the power of the barbarians. Still the Roman laws and names went on, and we may be sure that any man in Italy would have been much surprised if he had been told that the Roman empire had come to an end."

Continued
seat of Ro-
man empire
in the east

Freeman,
*General
Sketch of
European
History*,
101-2

The government of Odoacer, who ruled with the authority of a king, though pretending to kingship only in his own nation, was firm and strong. Italy was better protected from its lawless neighbors than it had been for nearly a century before. But nothing could arrest the decay of its population—the blight that had fallen upon its prosperity. Nor could that turbulent age afford any term of peace that would be long

Odoacer,
A. D. 476-
493

enough for even the beginning of the cure of such maladies and such wounds as had brought Italy low. For seventeen years Odoacer ruled; and then he was overthrown by a new kingdom-seeking barbarian, who came, like Alaric, out of the Gothic swarm.

The Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric

The Ostrogoths had now escaped, since Attila died, from the yoke of the Huns, and were prepared, under an able and ambitious young king, Theodoric, to imitate the career of their cousins, the Visigoths. Having troubled the eastern court until it stood in fear of him, Theodoric asked for a commission to overthrow Odoacer, in Italy, and received it from the emperor's hand. Thus empowered by one still recognized as lawful lord on both sides of the Adriatic, Theodoric crossed the Julian Alps with the families of his nation and their household goods. Three battles made him master of the peninsula and decided his rival's fate. Odoacer held out in Ravenna for two years and a half, and surrendered on a promise of equal sovereignty with the Ostrogothic king; but Theodoric did not scruple to kill him with his own sword, at the first opportunity which came.

In that act, the native savagery in Theodoric broke loose; but through most of his life he kept his passions tamed, and exhibited the character of a civilized statesman and king. He gave Italy peace, security and substantial justice for thirty

Theodoric
and his conquest of
Italy, A. D.
488-493

Hodgkins,
*Theodoric
the Goth*

(See page
331)

years, and "seems in many ways like a first sketch of Charlemagne."

Brevity of
the Ostro-
gothic king-
dom

With little war, Theodoric extended his dominion northward to the Danube and westward beyond the Rhone; and, in addition to his own, he governed the adjoining Visigothic realm, as guardian of his grandson, its young king. But the dominion of the wise Ostrogoth was not destined to endure. One who lived the common measure of life might have seen the beginning of it and the end. It vanished in one quarter of a century after he who founded it was laid in his great tomb at Ravenna, leaving nothing to later history that can be counted as a survival of it,—not even a known remnant of the Ostrogothic race. Powerful influences were against it from the first, and they were influences which proceeded mischievously from the Christian church. Had the Goths been pagans, the church might have turned a kindly face to them, and wooed them to conversion as she wooed the Franks. But they were Christians of a heretic stamp, and the orthodox Christianity of Rome held them in deadly loathing. While still beyond the Danube, they had received the faith from an Arian apostle, at the time of the great conflict of Athanasius against Arius, and were stubborn in the rejection of trinitarian dogma. Hence the church in the west was never reconciled to the monarchy of Theodoric in Italy, nor to that of the Visigoths at Toulouse; and its hostility was the ultimate cause of the failure of both.

Fatal hos-
tility of the
western
church to
the Goths

The Roman empire in the east

To understand the events which caused the fall of the Ostrogothic power, we must turn back for a moment to the empire in the east. Marcian, whom Pulcheria, the wise daughter of Arcadius, made emperor by marrying him, died in 457, and Aspar, the barbarian who commanded the mercenaries, selected his successor. Aspar chose his own steward, one Leo, who proved to have more independence than his patron expected, and who succeeded in destroying the latter. After Leo I. came his infant grandson, Leo II., whose father, an Isaurian chieftain, took his place when he died, within the year. The Isaurian assumed a Greek name, Zeno, and occupied the throne—with one interval of flight and exile for twenty months—during seventeen years. When he died, his widow gave her hand in marriage to an excellent officer of the palace, Anastasius by name, and he was sovereign of the empire for twenty-seven years.

Leo I.,
A. D. 457-
474

Zeno, A. D.
474-491

Anastasius,
A. D. 491-
578

After Anastasius, came Justin I., born a peasant in Dacia (modern Roumania), but advanced as a soldier to the command of the imperial guards, and thence to the throne. He had already adopted and educated his nephew, Justinian, and before dying, in 527, he invested him with sovereignty as a colleague. The reign of Justinian was the most remarkable in the whole history of the empire in the east. In modern esteem the reign of Justinian owes its greatest fame to the noble collection of Roman laws which

Justin I.,
A. D. 518-
527

Justinian,
A. D. 527-
565

(See page
332)

The Pandects and the Code

was made, in the Pandects and the Code, under the direction of the wise and learned Tribonian. Transiently it was glorified by conquests that bore a likeness to the march of the resistless legions of ancient Rome; and the laureled names of Belisarius and Narses claimed a place on the columns of victory with the names of Cæsar and Pompeius. But the splendors of the reign were much more than offset by miseries and calamities of the darkest kind.

Splendors and miseries of the reign

“The reign of Justinian, from its length, its glory and its disasters, may be compared to the reign of Louis XIV., which exceeded it in length, and equaled it in glory and disaster. . . . He extended the limits of his empire; but he was unable to defend the territory he had received from his predecessors. Every one of the thirty-eight years of his reign was marked by an invasion of the barbarians; and it has been said that, reckoning those who fell by the sword, who perished from want, or were led into captivity, each invasion cost 200,000 subjects to the empire. Calamities which human prudence is unable to resist seemed to combine against the Romans, as if to compel them to expiate their ancient glory. . . . So that the very period which gave birth to so many monuments of greatness, may be looked back upon with horror, as that of the widest desolation and the most terrific mortality.”

Sismondi,
*Fall of the
Roman
Empire*, I :
212, 214-
215

The first and longest of the wars of Justinian was the Persian war, which he inherited from his predecessors, and which scarcely ceased while the

Persian monarchy endured. It was in these Asiatic campaigns that Belisarius began his career. But the first great achievement of that remarkable commander was the overthrow and extinction of the Vandal power in Africa, and the restoration of Roman authority (the empire of the new Rome) in the old Carthaginian province. He accomplished this with a comparatively small force, and was recalled by his jealous lord on the instant of his success.

Belisarius
in Africa,
A. D. 533-
534

But the ambition of Justinian was whetted by this marvelous conquest, and he promptly projected an expedition against the kingdom of the eastern Goths. The successor of Theodoric was a child of ten years, his grandson, whose mother reigned in his name. Amalsuentha, the queen-regent, was a woman of highly cultivated mind, and she offended her subjects by too marked a Romanization of her ideas. Her son died in his eighteenth year, and she associated with herself on the throne the next heir to it, a worthless nephew of Theodoric, who was able, in a few weeks, to strip her power from her and consign her to a distant prison, where she was put to death. She had opened negotiations with Justinian for the restoration of his supremacy in Italy, and the ambitious emperor assumed with eagerness a right to avenge her deposition and death. The fate of Amalsuentha was his excuse, the discontent of Roman orthodoxy with the rule of the heretic Goths was his encouragement, to send an army into Italy with Belisarius at its head.

Amalsu-
entha

Belisarius
in Italy,
A. D. 536-
548

Hodgkins,
*Italy and
her Invad-
ers*, v. 4,
bk. v.

First taking possession of Sicily, Belisarius landed in Italy in 536, took Naples and advanced on Rome. An able soldier, Vitiges, had been raised to the Gothic throne, and he evacuated Rome in December; but he returned the following March and laid siege to the ancient capital, which Belisarius had occupied with a moderate force. It was defended against him for an entire year, and the strength of the Gothic nation was consumed on the outer side of the walls, while the inhabitants within were wasted by famine and disease. The Goths invoked the aid of the Franks in Gaul, and those fierce warriors, crossing the Alps, assailed both Goths and Greeks, with indiscriminate hostility, destroyed Milan and Genoa, and mostly perished of hunger before they retreated from the wasted Cisalpine country.

A. D. 538

Totila

Released from Rome, Belisarius advanced in his turn against Ravenna, and took the Gothic capital, making Vitiges a prisoner. His reward for these successes was a recall from command. The jealous emperor could not afford his generals too much glory at a single winning. As a consequence of his folly, the Goths, under a new king, Totila, were allowed to recover so much ground in the next four years that, when, in 544, Belisarius was sent back, almost without an army, the work of conquest had to be done anew. Rome was still held against Totila, who besieged it, and the great general went by sea to its relief. He forced the passage of the Tiber, but failed, through the misconduct of the commander in the

city, to accomplish an entry, and once more the great capital was entered and yielded to angry Goths. They spared the lives of the few people they found, and the chastity of the women; but they plundered without restraint.

Totila commanded the total destruction of the city; but his ruthless hand was stayed by the remonstrances of Belisarius. After demolishing a third of the walls, he withdrew towards the south, dragging the few inhabitants with him, and Rome is said to have been an unpeopled solitude for forty days. The scene which this offers to the imagination comes near to being the most impressive in history. At the end of forty days the city was entered by Belisarius, who repaired the walls, collected his forces, and repelled a fresh attack by the Goths.

Rome a
solitude for
forty days,
A. D. 546

But again Belisarius was recalled by a mean and jealous court, and again the Gothic cause was reanimated and restored. Rome was taken again from its feeble garrison, and this time it was treated with respect. Most of Italy and Sicily, with Corsica and Sardinia, were subdued by Totila's arms, and that king, now successful, appealed to Justinian for peace. It was refused, and in 552 a vigorous prosecution of the war was resumed, under a new commander—the remarkable eunuch Narses, who proved himself to be one of the masters of war. Totila was defeated and slain in the first battle of the campaign; Rome was again beleaguered and taken; and the last blow needed to extinguish the Gothic kingdom in

Extinction
of the
Ostrogothic
kingdom
by Narses,
A. D. 552-
553

Italy was given the following year, when Totila's successor, Teia, ended his life on another disastrous field.

The exarch-
ate of
Ravenna

Italy was restored for the moment to the empire, and was placed under the government of an imperial viceroy, called exarch, which high office the valiant Narses was the first to fill. His successors, known in history as the exarchs of Ravenna, resided in that capital for a long period, while the arm of their authority was shortened steadily by the conquests of new invaders, whose story is yet to be told.

Britain, and its conquest by German tribes

Leaving Italy and Rome, once more in the imperial fold, but mere provinces now of a distant and alienated sovereignty, it is necessary to turn back to the west, and glance over the regions in which, when we looked at them last, the institutions of Roman government and society were being dissolved and broken up by flood upon flood of barbaric invasion from the Teutonic north.

Roman
abandon-
ment of the
island,
A. D. 407

Beginning at the farthest western province of the Roman dominion, we find that the island of Britain was abandoned, practically, by the imperial government, after the year 407. It was then that the Roman soldiers in the island, casting off their allegiance to Honorius, chose one of their number, who bore the fortunate name of Constantine, proclaimed him emperor, and followed him to the continent, where he exercised

some authority for a time, but perished in the end. Of the condition of Britain at that time, when its inhabitants appear to have been left to their own government and their own defense, there is little known. Indeed, a strange obscurity rests on the whole period of the Roman rule. Except in what relates to the fighting, by which the southern part of the island was subdued and then defended against the unconquered tribes in the north, British history in that time is almost as blank as before the Romans came.

In language, and probably in race (at least mostly), the inhabitants of Britain, when the Romans came, were kindred to the continental Gauls, all belonging to what has been known as the Celtic section of mankind. Two tribal groups from that section are supposed to have passed over from the continent to the British islands at different times. One, distinguished as the Gael, has left its descendants in the Scottish highlands and islands, and in Ireland and the Isle of Man; the other, called Brython, which gave Britain its name, is now represented by the people of Wales. The Brythonic tribes in southern Britain were subdued; the Gaelic tribes of the north had retreats in the mountains which the Romans could not reach. All attempts to subjugate the latter were given up at last, and great walls were built, from the Solway to the Tyne and from the Forth to the Clyde, to protect Roman Britain from their attacks. The unsubdued part of the island was called Caledonia by the Romans; but

The native
Britons

Gaels and
Brythons

Rhys, *Celtic*
Britain

Caledonia
and the
Picts

Ireland and
the Scotti

its wild people they named Picts, signifying that these latter were still so savage that they painted their faces when they went to war. Ireland, which the Roman arms never reached, was then known as Scotia and its people as Scotti, or Scots. In the fourth century, a large migration of the Scots of Ireland into western Caledonia reinforced the assailants of Roman Britain, and resulted, long afterward, in giving the name Scotland to the country that bears it now.

The Roman
occupation

South of the walls, Britain was occupied by the Romans for about three centuries and a half. That they really occupied the country,—that they established themselves and their civilization in it,—is attested by many remains of their cities and city walls, their elegant country residences, their great roads, and broken relics of their handicrafts and arts; but they tell us, in the literature we have received from them, almost nothing about the province and its people, or concerning Roman life in it, or indicative of the relations between their subjects and themselves. It is certain that Christianity made its way into the island at an early time; but how far it reached the natives and how many Christian churches were planted, is quite unknown.

Britain as-
sailed by
Picts, Scots
and Saxons

For about forty years after the last Roman soldiers left the island, the Britons and the remaining Roman residents fought off, not only invading Picts and Scots from the north, but also a swarm of ruthless pirates, which the tribes of northwestern Europe had begun to launch upon

the German or North Sea. The most cruel and terrible of these ocean freebooters were the Saxons, of the Elbe, and they gave their name for a time to the whole. Their destructive raids upon the coasts of Britain and Gaul had commenced more than a century before the Romans withdrew their legions, and that part of the British coast most exposed to their ravages was known as the Saxon Shore. At last, the incessant attacks of the Picts and Scots wore out the confidence of the Britons in themselves, and they made the fatal mistake of seeking help from their other enemies, who scourged them from the sea. Their invitation was given, not to the Saxons, but to a band of Jutes—warriors from the Danish peninsula in which they have left their name.

Help
sought
from the
Jutes, A.D.
449 or 450

The Jutes landed at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, with two chiefs, Hengest and Horsa, at their head. They came as allies, and fought by the side of the Britons against the Picts with excellent success. Then came quarrels, and presently the arms of Hengest and Horsa were turned against their employers. Ten years later the Jutes had secure possession of the part of Britain now called Kent, and Hengest was their king, Horsa having fallen in the war. This was the beginning of the transformation of Roman-Celtic Britain into the Teutonic England of later history.

Jute con-
quest of
Kent, A. D.
455-465

The success of the Jutes drew their cousins and piratical comrades, the Saxons and the Engles, to seek kingdoms in the same rich island. The

Saxon conquests,
A. D. 477-
519

Saxons came first, landing near Selsey, in 477, and taking gradual possession of a district which became known as the kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sussex. The next invasion was by Saxons under Cerdic, and Jutes, who joined to form the kingdom of the West Saxons, or Wessex, covering about the territory of modern Hampshire. So much of their conquest was complete by the year 519. At about the same time, other colonies were established and gave their names, as East Saxons and Middle Saxons, to the Essex and Middlesex of modern English geography.

Conquests
of the
Engles,
A. D. 547-
600

A third tribe from the German shore, the Engles or Angles, now came to take their part in the conquest of the island, and these laid their hands upon kingdoms in the east and north of England, so much larger than the modest Jute and Saxon realms in the south that their name fixed itself, at last, upon the whole country, when its older name of Britain was lost. Northumberland, which stretched from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, Mercia, which covered at one time the whole middle region of England, and East Anglia, which became divided into the two English counties of Norfolk (North-folk) and Suffolk (South-folk), were the three great kingdoms of the Engles.

How
southern
Britain
became
England

Before the end of the sixth century, almost the whole of modern England, and part of Scotland, on its eastern side, as far to the north as Edinburgh, was in possession of the German invaders. They had not merely subdued the former posses-

sors,—Britons and Roman provincials (if Romans remained in the island after their domination ceased),—but, in the judgment of the best investigators of the subject, they had practically swept them from all the parts of the island in which their own settlements were made. That is to say, the prior population was either exterminated by the merciless swords of these Saxon and English pagans, or was driven into the mountains of Wales, into the peninsula of Cornwall and Devon, or into the Strathclyde corner of Scottish territory,—in all which regions the ancient British race has maintained itself to this day. Few signs of its existence remain elsewhere in England,—in language, or in local names, or in institutions, or in survivals of any other kind; which seems to show that the inhabitants were effaced by the conquest, as the inhabitants of Gaul, of Spain, and of Italy, for example, were not.

Green, *The Making of England*

The surviving Britons

The new society and the new states which now arose on the soil of Britain, and began to shape themselves into the England of the future, were as purely Germanic as if they had grown up in the Jutish peninsula or on the Elbe. The institutions, political and social, of the immigrant nations had been modified by changed circumstances, but they had incorporated almost nothing from the institutions which they found existing in their new home and which they supplanted. Broadly speaking, little or nothing Roman or Celtic entered into them. They were constructed on German lines throughout.

Complete Germanization of England

Exception-
al barbar-
ism of the
invading
tribes

The Saxons and their kin when they entered Britain were more unmitigated barbarians than most of the Teutonic tribes which overwhelmed the continental provinces of Rome had been. The Goths had been influenced for quite a period by Roman civilization, and had nominally accepted Christian precepts and beliefs, before they took arms against the empire. The Franks had been allies of Rome and in contact with the refinements of Roman Gaul, for a century or two before they became masters in that province. Most of the other nations which transplanted themselves in the fifth century, from beyond the Rhine to new homes in the provinces of Rome, had been living for generations on the borders of the empire, or near; had acquired some acquaintance, at least, with the civilization which they did not share, and conceded to it a certain respect while some of them had borne arms for the emperor and taken his pay. But the Saxons, Engles and Jutes had been remote from every influence or experience of the kind. They knew the Romans only as rich strangers to be plundered and foes to be fought. Christianity represented nothing to them but an insult to their gods, and was destroyed. There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the civilizing work which Rome had done in western Europe was obliterated nowhere else so ruthlessly and so wantonly as in Britain.

Extinction
of
of Chris-
tianity

Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, the kings of the several English monarchies were

struggling with one another for a supremacy that was won, at last, by the West Saxon king, named Egbert, who annexed Sussex, Essex and Kent, to his immediate dominion, and was acknowledged as over-lord by the under-kings of Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria, and by the British princes of Wales.

West Saxon
supremacy,
about A. D.
829

Monasticism and its agency

Before this time, monasticism had become the main Christianizing and civilizing influence in the barbarized west of Europe. It was not of Christian origin; for every earnest religious movement,—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Judaism,—had developed the practice of self-denial, mortification and suppression of natural desires, with escape from the pleasures and enticements of the world, and thus had produced its hermits and monks. Ascetic practices began early among Christians, but the first eremite or hermit, so far as known positively, was St. Anthony, of Egypt, who retired into the desert, about the middle of the third century, to devote himself wholly to religious meditation and prayer. In the course of his long life he acquired great fame as a saintly man, and his example was followed by many. Within a century the deserts of upper Egypt were reported to be filled with pious recluses, of both sexes, either living in solitude (anchorites) or gathered in communities (cenobites) around some famous holy man whose life they imitated or whose directions they obeyed. From these latter rose the monasteries, which sprang up, east and

St Anthony

Rise of
mon-
asteries

A. D. 529

Pope Gregory the Great

Missionaries and teachers

west, in the course of the centuries following. Their spread in western Europe became rapid after Benedict of Nursia, in Italy, had founded a famous monastery at Monte Cassino, and had established rules which made it an accepted pattern of monastic life. For a long period, nearly all western monasteries were known as Benedictine, being under St. Benedict's rule. Gregory the Great, who became pope in 590, was a Benedictine monk, and used his influence to promote the growth of monastic institutions and to stimulate their agency in missionary work. At about the same time, they began to be utilized as seats of teaching and learning, and an invaluable service was rendered to barbarized Europe by their quiet schools.

Irish monastic schools

St. Patrick, fifth century

Singularly enough, this educational service of the monasteries was developed at an early day most remarkably in remote Ireland, which the Romans and their culture never reached. Christianity had no planting in that island until the early part of the fifth century, when St. Patrick, supposed to have been a missionary from the then existing British church, began labors which had astonishing success. Irish churches and monasteries multiplied with rapidity, and the latter became famous among the schools of the age, while Irish missionaries were the most ardent workers in pagan fields.

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of England*, bk. ii-iii

That heathenized England recovered something of Christian culture in the seventh and eighth centuries was due in the main to Irish mis-

sionaries and monks. They came to the heathen Engles of Northumbria somewhat later than the famous mission of St. Augustine to the heathen Jutes of Kent, but their work had a deeper effect. It may be that the Engles were more receptive, intellectually, than the other English tribes,—more open by nature to these warm-hearted Celtic teachers, who drew the thoughtful and the gentler spirits among them “into quiet monasteries, taught them letters, and showed them the beauty of a peaceful and pious life.”

Green, *The Making of England*, ch. vi-vii

(See pages 334-335)

The kingdom of the Franks

In Gaul, meanwhile, and in southwestern Germany, the Franks had become the dominant power. They had moved tardily to the conquest, but when they moved it was with rapid strides. While they dwelt along the lower Rhine, they were in two divisions: the Salian Franks, who occupied, first, the country near the mouth of the river, and then spread southwards, to the Somme, or beyond; and the Ripuarians, who lived farther up the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Cologne, advancing thence to the Moselle. In the later part of the fifth century a Roman patrician, Syagrius, still exercised some kind of authority in northern Gaul; but he was defeated at last and overthrown by Chlodvig, or Clovis, the chief of the Salian Franks. Ten years later, Clovis, leading both the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks in an attack upon the German Alemanni, beyond the upper Rhine, subdued that people

A. D. 486

Subjugation of the Alemanni

completely, and took their country. Their name survived, and adhered to the whole people of Germany, whom the Franks and their successors the French have called Allemands to this day.

Conversion of Clovis, A. D. 496

After his conquest of the Alemanni, Clovis, who had married a Christian wife, accepted her faith and was baptized, with three thousand of his chief men. The professed conversion was as fortunate politically for him as it had been for Constantine. He adopted the Christianity which was that of the Roman church—the Catholic Christianity of the Athanasian creed—and he stood forth at once as the champion of orthodoxy against the heretic Goths and Burgundians, whose religion was looked upon as poisoned by the condemned doctrines of Arius. The blessings, and the more substantial endeavors, of the Roman church were on his side, when he attacked the Burgundians and made them tributary, and when, a few years later, he expelled the Goths from Aquitaine and drove them into Spain. Beginning, apparently, as one of several chiefs among the Salian Franks, he ended his career as sole king of the whole Frank nation, and master of all Gaul except a Gothic corner of Provence, with a considerable dominion beyond the Rhine.

The Goths driven into Spain, A.D. 500-508

A. D. 510

But Clovis left his realm to four sons, who divided it into as many kingdoms, with capitals at Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons. There was strife and war between them, until one of the brothers, Lothaire, united again the whole kingdom, which, meantime, had been enlarged by the

conquest of Thuringia and Provence, and by the extinction of the tributary Burgundian kings. When he died, his sons rent the kingdom again, and warred with one another, and once more it was brought together. Says Hallam: "It is a weary and unprofitable task to follow these changes in detail, through scenes of tumult and bloodshed, in which the eye meets with no sunshine, nor can rest upon any interesting spot. It would be difficult, as Gibbon has justly observed, to find anywhere more vice or less virtue."

Disrup-
tions and
reunions

Hallam,
Middle
Ages, I : 5

But, as Dean Church has remarked, the Franks were maintained in their ascendancy by the favor of the clergy and the circumstances of their position, despite their divisions and the worthless and detestable character of their kings, after Clovis. "They occupied a land of great natural wealth, and great geographical advantages, which had been prepared for them by Latin culture; they inherited great cities which they had not built, and fields and vineyards which they had not planted; and they had the wisdom, not to destroy, but to use their conquest. They were able with singular ease and confidence to employ and trust the services, civil and military, of the Latin population. . . . The bond between the Franks and the native races was the clergy. . . . The forces of the whole nation were at the disposal of the ruling race; and under Frank chiefs, the Latins and Gauls learned once more to be warriors." This no doubt suggests a quite true explanation of the success of the Franks; but too

State of the
Frank
kingdom

Church,
Beginning
of the
Middle
Ages, 85-86

The Mero-
vingian
dynasty

much may easily be inferred from it. It will not be safe to conclude that the Franks were always the protectors of civilization in Gaul, and laid no destroying hands upon it. We shall see presently that it sank to a very darkened state under the rule of the successors of Clovis (whose dynasty is known as the Merwing or Merovingian, from the name of a remoter ancestor); though the eclipse was less complete than in some other of the barbarized provinces of Rome.

Austrasia
(Germany)
and Neus-
tria
(France)

The division in the Frankish dominion which marked itself deeply and became permanent was that which separated the east kingdom, or Austrasia, from the west kingdom, or Neustria. In Austrasia, the Germanic element prevailed; in Neustria, the Roman and Gallic survivals entered most largely into the new society. Austrasia widened into the Germany of later history; Neustria into France. In both these kingdoms, the Frankish kings sank lower and lower in character, until their name of Merovingians became a by-word for worthlessness and sloth. In each kingdom there arose, beside the nominal monarch, a strong minister, called the major domus, or mayor of the palace, who exercised the real power and governed in the king's name. During the last half of the seventh century, the Austrasian mayor, Pepin of Heristal, and the Neustrian mayor, Ebroin, converted the old antagonism of the two kingdoms into a personal rivalry and struggle for supremacy. Ebroin was murdered, and Pepin was the final victor, in a decisive battle

Mayors of
the Palace

at Testry, which made him virtual master of the whole Frank realm, though the idle Merwings still sat on their thrones.

Pepin of
Heristal,
A. D. 687-
714

Pepin's son, Charles Martel, strengthened and extended the domination which his father had acquired. He drove back the Saxons and subdued the Frisians in the north, and, in the great and famous battle of Tours, he repelled, once for all, the attempt of the Arab and Moorish followers of Mohammed, already lodged in Spain, to push their conquests beyond the Pyrenees. The next of the family, Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel, put an end to the pretense of governing in the name of a puppet-king. The last of the Merovingians was deposed—lacking even importance enough to be put to death—and Pepin received the crown at the hands of pope Zachary. He died in 768, and the reign of his son, who succeeded him,—the Great Charles—the Charlemagne of mediæval history,—is the introduction to so new an era, and so changed an order of circumstances in the European world, that it will be best to finish with all that lies behind it in our hasty survey before we take it up.

Charles
Martel,
A. D. 719-
741

Battle of
Tours,
A. D. 732

Pepin the
Short, A.D.
741-768

Charle-
magne

Mohammed, and the conquests of Islam

Outside of Europe, a new and strange power had now risen, and had spread its forces with extraordinary rapidity around the southern and eastern circuit of the Mediterranean, until it troubled both extremities of the northern shore. This was the power of Islam—the proselyting,

war-waging religion of Mohammed, the Arabian prophet.

Muir, *Life
of Mohomet*

Twice, in his early life, Mohammed, a native of Mecca, had visited Syria, had come into contact with Jews and Christians, and thus, it is probable, had received ideas of religion which made the gross fetichism and idolatry of his own people revolting to his soul. Both Judaism and Christianity commended themselves to his belief, but not as finalities in the knowledge of God. He accepted Abraham, Moses and Jesus as true prophets, but not as closing the prophetic line. At length, having physically and mentally the nature that prepares men for trances and visions, he became persuaded, in his fortieth year, that he himself was a prophet, commissioned to complete the revelation which Moses and Jesus had begun.

Moham-
med's pre-
tensions,
A. D. 610

(See pages
333-334)

Ten years of preaching at Mecca, with a private circulation of the new Scriptures that he wrote, in fragments which made up the Koran, won Mohammed a small following; while bitter enmities were rising against him in his tribe. Then some pilgrims from Medina gave ear to him and believed his message, and spread the belief in their own town. Two years later, the prophet and his few disciples were driven by persecution from Mecca, and Medina received them with open arms. Mohammedans reckon time from that hejira or flight.

The Hejira,
A. D. 622

From this time the propagandism of Mohammed was by war, and submission to his authority as a prophet was consequent on submission to his

political power, won by the sword. In 630 he returned to Mecca as its master; in 632, when he died, he was lord of Arabia, and his armies had just crossed the border to attack the eastern Roman empire in Syria. In seven years from that time the whole of Palestine and Syria had been overrun by the victorious Arabs (whom the Romans called Saracens), Jerusalem, Damascus, Antioch, and all the strong cities taken, and Roman authority expelled. In two years more, they had dealt the last blow to the Sassanian monarchy in Persia and shattered it forever. At the same time they were besieging Alexandria and adding Egypt to their conquests. In 668, only thirty-six years after the death of the prophet, they were at the gates of Constantinople, making the first of their many attempts to gain possession of the New Rome. In 698 they had taken Carthage, had occupied all north Africa to the Atlantic coast, and had converted and absorbed the Mauretanians or Moors.

First century of Mohammedan conquest

About 710 they completed the conquest of the Turkish tribes of the Bokharan region, between the Oxus and Jaxartes. In 711 the commingled Arabs, or Saracens, and Moors crossed the straits and entered Spain, and the overthrow of the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths was accomplished practically in a single battle that same year. Within two years more, the Moors (as they came to be most commonly called) were in possession of the whole southern, central and eastern parts of the Spanish peninsula, treating

Conquest of Spain, A. D. 711-713

the inhabitants who had not fled with a more generous toleration than differing Christians were wont to offer to one another. The Spaniards (a mixed population of Roman, Suevic, Gothic and aboriginal descent) who did not submit, took refuge in the mountainous region of the Asturias and Galicia, where they maintained their independence, and, in due time, became aggressive, until, after eight centuries, they recovered their whole land.

For the government of the great empire which the armies of the dead prophet were spreading eastward and westward in his name, he had left no plan. When he died a convention of elders and chiefs appointed Abu Bekr, his closest friend, to take his place on what was to be made an imperial throne. This first Successor (Khalif or Caliph in the Arabic, which simple word became the august title of the sovereigns of the Moham-medan dominion) reigned two years, and was followed by the soldier, Omar, father of Mohammed's third wife. Omar was murdered by an angry slave, after reigning ten years, and Othman, the next caliph, who had been the prophet's secretary, suffered the same fate of assassination. Then came Ali, the nephew of Mohammed and husband of his daughter Fatima, whose claims to the sovereignty had been urged with passion by a large party from the first. Five years of civil war ensued, at the end of which Ali was murdered, and a man of craft, Moawiyah, who had been a bitter enemy of Mohammed, won the great office

Moham-
med's suc-
cessors, the
caliphs

Omar, A.D.
634-644

Othman,
A. D. 644-
656

Ali, A. D.
656-661

of the caliphs and made it hereditary in his family, establishing a dynasty called that of the Omeyyads, which ruled for nearly a hundred years. "The Commander of the Faithful sank into an earthly despot, ruling by force, like any Assyrian conqueror of old. The early caliphs dwelt in the sacred city of Medina, and directed the counsels of the empire from beside the tomb of the prophet. Moawiyah transferred his throne to the conquered splendors of Damascus; and Mecca and Medina became tributary cities to the ruler of Syria."

The Omeyyads

Freeman,
*History and
Conquests of
the Saracens*

Partisans of the family of Ali, forever irreconcilable to this revolution, became a faction, and grew finally into a sect, called that of the Shias, which has persisted to the present day. From the supporters of the Omeyyads sprang an opposing sect, called Sunni, which, outside of Persia, has embraced a large majority of Mohammedan believers, first and last.

Shias and Sunnis

The Omeyyad caliphate was overthrown, A.D. 750, not by the Shia partisans of the heirs of Ali and Fatima, but in favor of a family which sprang from the prophet's uncle, Abbas. This established a line of sovereigns called Abbassides on the throne at Damascus; but the whole Mohammedan empire was not subjected to their rule. A single Omeyyad escaped the destruction of his family and found a welcome and a throne in Spain, where he and his descendants reigned in splendor at Cordova, as rival caliphs, until long after the Abbassides had been stripped of actual

The Abbassides

The caliphate at Cordova

Bagdad

power and reduced to a merely spiritual office in a nominal realm. In 763 the Abbasside capital was transferred from Damascus to the city of Bagdad, newly founded for the purpose on the Tigris, and there the vigor of the eastern caliphs, sunk in luxury, underwent a rapid decline.

China and its Neighbors

Taitsong
the Great
A. D. 626-
649

When the arms of the invincible Arabs passed the confines of Persia and struck the Turkish tribes beyond the Oxus, they came near to the western outposts of the Chinese dominion, then advanced to Kashgar, but no collision occurred. The ancient empire was enjoying one of the happiest periods of its checkered history, after a long troubled time. In the year 626 it received an emperor,—the second in a dynasty called the Tang,—who appears to have deserved the title given him, of Taitsong the Great. In the judgment of the historian Boulger, he claims a place in “the same rank as Cæsar, and those other great rulers who were not merely soldiers and conquerors, but also legislators and administrators of the first rank. If we candidly consider the civilized and truly Christian spirit of Taitsong, it is difficult to find among the great men of the world one with a right to have precedence before him.” It was Taitsong who established firm authority in Kashgaria, or Eastern Turkestan, as a means of separating the hostile Tatar peoples on his northern frontier from those on the east. He

Boulger,
*History of
China*,
I 187

repulsed an attack from Tibet, and compelled the sovereign of that kingdom (then lately formed by the subjection of numerous tribes) to acknowledge vassalage and pay tribute to the Chinese crown; but the vassalage was renounced after Taitsong's death, and a long series of wars with the Tibetans ensued. An admirable spirit of generosity and chivalry appeared in all the wars of Taitsong, and a broad wisdom in his administration of civil affairs.

Tibet

Taitsong failed in attempting to enforce claims of tribute from Korea; but under his successor the subjugation of that kingdom was accomplished, after a struggle in which the Japanese, who came to the assistance of the Koreans, suffered the loss of an entire army and fleet. At this time an extraordinary woman, the empress Wou, one of the wives of the late Taitsong, married also to his son, acquired absolute power and exercised it for forty years, anticipating almost exactly the career of the recent empress-dowager of China.

Korea

Prior to this time the history of Japan is obscure. Through Korea, with which peninsular country the relations of the neighboring islanders have always been close, the latter are believed to have felt in this period the beginnings of a marked influence from the higher culture of the Chinese. In the sixth or seventh century, if not earlier, Buddhist missionaries were active in the islands, and the introduction of their religion was productive of great effects.

Empress
Wou

The Roman empire in the east

Loss of Justinian's conquests

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlv-xlvi

The struggle of the eastern empire with the Arabs began, as we have seen, at the first moment of their career. They came upon it when it was weak from many wounds, and exhausted by conflict with many foes. Before the death of Justinian, the transient glories of his reign had been waning fast. His immediate successor saw the work of Belisarius and Narses undone, for the most part, and the Italian peninsula overrun by a new horde of barbarians, more rapacious and more savage than the Goths. At the same time, the Persian war broke out again, and drained the imperial resources to pay for victories that had no fruit. Two better and stronger emperors—Tiberius and Maurice—who came after him, only made an honorable struggle, without leaving the empire in a better state. Then a brutal creature—Phocas—held the throne for eight years and sunk it very low by his crimes.

Heraclius, A. D. 610-641

The hero, Heraclius, who was then raised to power, came too late. Assailed suddenly, at the very beginning of his reign, by a fierce Persian onset, he was powerless to resist. Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor were ravaged successively and conquered by the Persian arms. They came even to the Bosphorus, and for ten years they held its eastern shore and maintained a camp within sight of Constantinople itself; while the wild Tatar nation of the Avars raged, at the same time, through the northern and western provinces of the empire, and threatened the capital on its

landward sides. The Roman empire was reduced, for a time, to "the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast." But Heraclius turned the tide of disaster and rolled it back upon his enemies. Despite an alliance of the Persians with the Avars, and their combined assault upon Constantinople, he repelled the latter, and wrested from the former, in a series of remarkable campaigns, all the territory they had seized. He had just accomplished this great deliverance of his dominions, when the Arabs came upon him, as stated above.

Struggle
with Per-
sians and
Avars, A.D.
622-632

There was no strength left in the empire to resist the terrible prowess of these warriors of the desert. They extinguished its authority in Syria and Egypt, as we have seen, in the first years of their career; but then turned their arms to the east and the west, and were slow in disputing Asia Minor with its Christian lords. "From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theater is contracted and darkened: the line of empire which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius recedes on all sides from our view." There was neither vigor nor virtue in the descendants of Heraclius; and when the last of them was destroyed by a popular rising against his vicious tyranny, revolution followed revolution so quickly that three reigns were begun and ended in six years.

The onset
of the
Arabs, A.D.
632-639

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall*, ch.
xlviii

Then came to the throne a man of strong char-

The empire
in the east
called Byzantine

Leo III.,
the Isaurian, A. D.
718-741

Final separation
of
Rome from
the eastern
empire

acter, who redeemed it at last from contempt; who introduced a dynasty which endured for a century, and whose reign is the beginning of a new era in the history of the eastern empire, so marked that the empire has taken from that time, in the common usage, a changed name. It is known thenceforth as the Byzantine, rather than the eastern or the Greek. This was Leo the Isaurian, who saved Constantinople from a second desperate Moslem siege; who checked for a considerable period the Mohammedan advance in the east; who reorganized the imperial administration on lasting lines; and whose suppression of image-worship in the Christian churches of his empire led to a rupture with the Roman church in the west,—to the breaking of all relations of dependence in Rome and Italy upon the empire in the east, and to the creating (under Charlemagne) of a new imperial sovereignty in western Europe, claiming succession to that of Rome.

Italy and Rome

Lombard
conquest of
Italy, A. D.
568

On the conquest of Italy for Justinian by Belisarius and Narses, the eunuch Narses, as related before, was made governor, residing at Ravenna, and bearing the title of exarch. In a few years he was displaced, through the influence of a palace intrigue at Constantinople. To be revenged, it is said that he persuaded the Lombards, a German tribe lately become threatening on the upper Danube, to enter Italy. They came, under their leader Alboin, and almost the whole northern and

middle parts of the peninsula submitted to them with no resistance. Pavia stood a siege for three years before it surrendered, to become the Lombard capital; Venice received an added population of fugitives, and was safe in her lagoons—like Ravenna, where the new exarch watched the march of Lombard conquest, and scarcely opposed it. Rome was preserved, with part of southern Italy and with Sicily; but no more than a shadow of the sovereignty of the empire now stretched westward beyond the Adriatic.

The city of Rome, and the territory surrounding it, still owned a nominal allegiance to the emperor at Constantinople; but their immediate and real ruler was the bishop of Rome, who had acquired, in a special way, the fatherly name of “papa” or pope. Many circumstances had combined to place both spiritual and temporal power in the hands of these Christian pontiffs of Rome. They may have been originally, in the constitution of the church, on an equal footing of ecclesiastical authority with the four other chiefs of the hierarchy—the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem; but the great name of Rome gave them prestige and weight. Then, they stood, geographically and sympathetically, in nearest relations with that massive Latin side of Christendom, in western Europe, which was never much disturbed by the raging dogmatic controversies that tore and divided the church on its eastern, Greek side. It was inevitable that the western church should

How the
bishops of
Rome
(popes) ac-
quired
spiritual
authority

yield homage to one head—to one bishopric above all other bishoprics; and it was more inevitable that the See of Rome should be that one. So the spiritual supremacy to which the popes arrived is easily explained.

How temporal power came to the popes

Gregorio-
vius,
*History of
the City of
Rome in the
Middle
Ages*, 1:176-
201; 2:5-15,
46-62

The temporal authority which the popes acquired is accounted for as obviously. Even before the interruption of the line of emperors in the west, the removal of the imperial residence for long periods from Rome, to Constantinople, to Milan, to Ravenna, left the pope the most impressive and influential personage in the ancient capital. Political functions were forced on him, whether he desired to exercise them or not. It was Pope Leo who headed the embassy to Attila, and saved the city from the Huns. It was the same pope who pleaded for it with the Vandal king, Genseric. And still more and more, after the imperial voice which uttered occasional commands to his Roman subjects was heard from a distant palace, in Constantinople, and in accents that had become wholly Greek, the chair of St. Peter grew throne-like,—the respect paid to the pope in civil matters took on the spirit of obedience, and his aspect before the people became that of a temporal prince.

The popes and the Lombard kings

Alliance of the papacy with the Carolingian chiefs

This process of the political elevation of the papacy was completed by the Lombard conquest of Italy. The Lombard kings were bent upon the acquisition of Rome; the popes were resolute and successful in holding it against them. At last the papacy made its memorable and momentous

alliance with the Carolingian chiefs of the Franks. It assumed the tremendous super-imperial right and power to dispose of crowns, by taking that of the kingdom of the Franks from Childeric and giving it to Pepin; and this was the first assumption of that right by the chief priest of western Christendom. In return, Pepin led an army twice to Italy, humbled the Lombards, took from them the exarchate of Ravenna (from which they had expelled the exarchs of the eastern emperor about two years before) and the Pentapolis (a district east of the Appenines, between Ancona and Ferrara), and transferred this whole territory as a conqueror's "donation" to the apostolic see. The temporal sovereignty of the popes now rested on a base as political and as substantial as that of the most worldly of the potentates around them.

Pepin's
"donation,"
A. D. 755

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE ADVENT OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH OF HILDEBRAND

(A. D. 768 to 1085)

Beginning of reconstructive processes. *Charlemagne and his empire*: His imperial coronation.—His conquests. *The Northmen*: What drove them to sea.—Forays of the Vikings.—Danes in England.—King Alfred's struggle with them.—Later Danish conquest of England.—Rollo's settlement in Normandy.—Norse voyages to America.—Beginnings of the Russian empire. *Slavonic peoples*: Their homes. *Feudalism in western Europe*: As a land system.—As a political system.—Disintegrating effects.—Mediæval cities. *Dissolution of the Carolingian empire*: The West Frank kingdom becoming France.—Hugh Capet.—The East Frank kingdom, or Germany.—Creation of the Germanic-Roman or Holy Roman empire.—Evil effects in Germany. *The empire and the papacy*: Anarchy at Rome.—Empire and papacy opposed in Italy.—Rise of Italian city-republics.—Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).—The "war of investitures."—Henry IV. at Canossa.—Normans in southern Italy.—Their treatment of Rome. *Norman conquest of England*: William of Normandy's claim to the English crown.—His subjugation of the English people.—Effects of the conquest. *The Chinese empire and Japan*: Khitans and Kins.

In the period last surveyed, we found a large part of the historic world undergoing revolutions, the most violent and destructive that have happened in known times. The ancient systems of civilized life which Semites, Greeks and Romans, in succession, had worked out, within a wide circuit of countries on and near the Mediterranean, were being crushed and trampled by rude and ruthless invaders, from the forests of Germany and Scandinavia, from the steppes of inner Asia, from the deserts of Arabia, as though fresh, nature-bred races had been summoned from every quarter, to break up the old movement of civilization and establish new starting points, for a new course.

Destruction in the preceding period

In the period to be entered now we shall find the new movement opening, with the new races in the van. A political reconstruction of western Europe on lines of permanency is begun. The German folk who call themselves Franks become the founders of two great modern nations, France and Germany, with pretensions to an imperial sovereignty like that of Rome attached to their Germanic crown. The seafaring and adventurous Northmen come out of Scandinavia, bringing a vigor and an animation of mind and spirit that quicken half the currents of European life. Jute, Engle and Saxon conquests in Britain are fused by many wars into one English kingdom, which a bold Norman duke seizes and makes his own. The Christians of northern Spain are rallied in their mountain retreats, to form little kingdoms and begin their long conflict with the intruding Moors. In the east, the Arab is losing the dominion that he won for Islam, supplanted by his sturdier convert, the Turk. The eastern Roman or Byzantine empire holds its ground, as the outpost of Europe against Asia, and as a last chief repository of the culture of the past. At Rome, the pope-bishops, gathering political as well as spiritual authority into their hands, are rising rapidly to the summit of their power, and learning from Hildebrand to dispute supremacy with emperors and kings. In all directions, the reorganizing forces that produced the Europe of modern centuries—the Europe that we know—are beginning their work.

Beginnings
of recon-
struction

Charlemagne and his empire

Renewed
alliance
with the
papacy

Charlemagne, the mighty son who succeeded Pepin on the throne of the Franks in 768, renewed and strengthened the alliance of his family with the papacy by completing the conquest of the Lombards, extinguishing their kingdom, and confirming his father's donation of the States of the Church. Charlemagne was then supreme in Italy, and the pope became the representative of his sovereignty at Rome,—a position which lastingly enhanced the political importance of the Roman see. But, while pope and king stood related, in one view, as agent and principal, or subject and sovereign, another very different relationship shaped itself in the thoughts of one, if not of both.

Rome inde-
pendent of
the eastern
emperor

Need of a
Roman em-
peror in the
west

The western church had broken entirely with the eastern, on the question of image-worship, which the latter condemned; the nominal or titular sovereignty of the eastern emperor over the ancient Roman capital was a worn-out fiction; the reign of a female usurper, Irene, at Constantinople, offered a good opportunity for casting it off. But a Roman emperor there must be, somewhere, for lesser princes and sovereigns to do homage to; the political habit and feeling of the European world, shaped and fixed by the long domination of Rome, still called for it. "Nor could the spiritual head of Christendom dispense with the temporal; without the Roman empire there could not be," according to the feeling of the ninth century, "a Roman, nor by necessary con-



CHARLEMAGNE

From the portrait by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528)
Now in the German Museum, Nuremberg

sequence a catholic and apostolic, church." For "men could not separate in fact what was indissoluble in thought: Christianity must stand or fall along with the great Christian state: they were but two names for one and the same thing." Therefore the head of the church, boldly enlarging the assumption of his predecessor, who bestowed the crown of the Merovingians upon Pepin, now took it upon himself to set the diadem of the cæsars on the head of Charlemagne. On Christmas Day, in the year 800, in the basilica of St. Peter, at Rome, the solemn act of coronation was performed by Pope Leo III.; the Roman empire lived again, in the estimation of that age, and Charles the Great, emperor, by consecration of the Christian pontiff of Rome, reopened the interrupted line of successors to Augustus.

Bryce, Holy Roman, Empire, 46

Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, A.D. 800

Before this imperial coronation of Charlemagne occurred, he had made his dominion imperial in extent, by the magnitude of his conquests. North, south, east and west, his armies had been everywhere victorious. In eighteen campaigns against the fierce and troublesome Saxons, who held the country between the Rhine and the Elbe, he subdued those stubborn pagans and forced them to submit to a Christian baptism—with how much of religious effect may be surmised. But by opening a way for the more Christ-like missionaries of the cross, who followed him, this missionary of the battle-axe did, no doubt, a very real apostolic work. He checked the ravages of the piratical Danes. He crushed the Avars (Asiatic invaders,

Conquests of Charlemagne

of the same race as the Huns), who had entered Europe in the sixth century and seized parts of the Austria and Hungary of the present day. He occupied Bavaria, on the one hand, and Brittany on the other. He crossed the Pyrenees to measure swords with the Moors, and drove them from the north of Spain, as far as the Ebro. His lordship in Italy has been noticed already.

(See pages
336-337)

Charlemagne was unquestionably one of the greatest monarchs of any age, and deserves the title Magnus, affixed to his name, if that title has been deserved by any of the kings who were flattered with it. There was more in his character than the mere aggressive energy which subjugated so wide a realm. He organized his empire with a sense of political system which was new among the Teutonic masters of western Europe (except as shown by Theodoric in Italy); but there were not years enough in his own life for the organism to mature, and his sons brought back chaos again.

The Northmen

New pirates
of the
North Sea

Before Charlemagne died he saw the western coasts and river valleys of his empire harried by a fresh outpouring of sea-rovers from the far north, and it is said that he had sad forebodings of the affliction they would become to his people thereafter. These new pirates of the North Sea, who took up, after several centuries, the abandoned trade of their kinsmen, the Saxons (now retired from their wild courses and respectably settled on

one side of the water, while subdued and kept in order on the other), were of the bold and rugged Scandinavian race, which inhabited the countries known since as Denmark, Sweden and Norway. By the Franks and other people on the continent they were generally called Northmen or Norsemen—men of the north—while Englishmen named them all Danes.

Johnson,
The Nor-
mans in
Europe

Called
Danes by
the English

At some time in the later half of the eighth century, the Northmen began to terrify the coasts of England, Germany and France, and the lower valleys of the rivers which they found it possible to ascend. It is probable that their appearance on the sea at this time, and not before, was due to a revolution which united Norway under a single king and a stronger government, and which, by suppressing independence and disorder among the petty chiefs, drove many of them to their ships and sent them abroad, to lead a life of lawlessness more agreeable to their tastes. It is also probable that the northern countries had become populated beyond their resources, as seemed to have happened before, when the Goths swarmed out, and that there was a necessary resort to the outlet by sea.

What drove
them to sea

Whatever the cause, these Norse adventurers, in fleets of long boats, issued with some suddenness from their "vics," or fiords (whence the name "viking"), and began an extraordinary career. For more than half a century their raids had no object but plunder, and what they took they carried home to enjoy. First to the Frisian

Forays of
the vikings

coast, then to the Rhine—the Seine—the Loire,—they came again and again to pillage and destroy; crossing at the same time to the shores of their nearest kinsmen—but heeding no kinship in their savage and relentless forays along the English coasts—and around to Ireland and the Scottish islands, where their earliest lodgments were made.

Danish
invasions of
England,
A. D. 866-
878

About the middle of the ninth century they began to seize tracts of land in England and to settle themselves there in permanent homes. The Engles in the northern and eastern parts and the Saxons in the southern part of England had weakened themselves and one another by the rivalry and war of three centuries between their divided kingdoms. At the time of the coming of the Danes (who were prominent, as we have said, in the English invasion, and gave their name to it), the West Saxon kings had won a decided ascendancy; but the Danes stripped them of what they had gained. Northumberland, Mercia and East Anglia were occupied in succession, and Wessex itself was attacked. King Alfred, the great and admirable hero of early English history, who came to the throne in 871, spent the first eight years of his reign in a deadly struggle with the invaders. He was obliged in the end to concede to them the whole northeastern part of England, from the Thames to the Tyne, which was known thereafter as “the Danelaw,” that is, the country subject to the law of the Danes; but even there they acknowledged his supremacy and became converts to the Christian faith. From

King Alfred
the Great,
A. D. 871-
901

Bowker,
ed., *Alfred
the Great*
(by Fred’k
Harrison,
et al.)

Wessex, Kent, Sussex and the western part of Mercia, the Danes withdrew entirely, and this was Alfred's kingdom during the second eight years of his reign; then he added London and what is now the county of Middlesex to his realm. By what Alfred did for this part of England, after he had rescued it from the Danes, he showed his rare wisdom and the surpassing grandeur of his character, even more than they appeared in the long trial of the desperate war. (See page 337)

Alfred's son, Edward, called "the Elder," who succeeded him in 901, and three grandsons who came after, subjugated the Danelaw completely in the fifty-four years of their reigns, and reëstablished the sovereignty of their house over the whole English land. But, half a century later, the Norse rovers resumed their attacks upon England, and a cowardly English king ordered a treacherous massacre of the now settled and peaceful Danes. The rage which this provoked in Denmark led to a great invasion of the country. England was completely conquered by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and his son Cnut, or Canute, who was a remarkable man. It remained subject to the Danish kings until 1042, when its throne was recovered for a brief space of time by the English line. Later Danish conquest of England, A. D. 1013
Canute
(See page 339)

Meanwhile the Northmen had gained a much firmer and more important footing in the territory of the western Franks—which had not yet acquired the name of France. The Seine and its valley attracted them again and again, and, after The Northmen acquire Normandy, A. D. 876-911

repeated expeditions up the river, even to the city of Paris, which they besieged several times, one of their chiefs, Rolf, or Rollo, got possession of Rouen and began a permanent settlement in the country. The Frank king, Charles the Simple, now made terms with Rollo and granted him a district at the mouth of the Seine. The Norse chief acknowledged the suzerainty or feudal superiority of Charles, and accepted at the same time the doubly new character of a baptized Christian and a Frankish duke. The Northmen on the Seine were known thenceforth as Normans, their dukedom as Normandy, and they played a great part in European history during the next two centuries.

The northern sea-rovers who had settled neither in Ireland, England nor Frankland, went farther afield into the west and north and had wonderful adventures there. They took possession of the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Hebrides, and other islands in those seas, including Man, and founded a powerful island-kingdom, which they held for a long time. Thence they passed on to Faroë and Iceland, and in Iceland, where they lived peaceful and quiet lives of necessity, they founded an interesting republic, and developed a very remarkable civilization, adorned by a literature which the world is learning more and more to admire. From Iceland, it was a natural step to the discovery of Greenland, and, from Greenland, there is now little doubt that they sailed southward and saw and touched the con-

continent of America, five centuries before Columbus made his voyage.

While the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries were exciting and disturbing all western Europe by their naval exploits, other adventurers from the Swedish side of the Scandinavian country were sallying eastward under different names. Both as warriors and as merchants, they made their way from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, and bands of them entered the service of the eastern emperor, at Constantinople, where they received the name of Varangians, from the oath by which they were bound. One of the Swedish chiefs, Rurik by name, was chosen by certain tribes of the country now called Russia, to be their prince. Rurik's capital was Novgorod, where he formed the nucleus of a kingdom which grew, through many vicissitudes, into the modern empire of Russia. His successors transferred their capital to Kief, and ultimately it was shifted again to Moscow, where the Muscovite princes acquired the title, the power, and the great dominion of the tzars of all the Russias.

Northmen
in the east

Varangians

Beginnings
of the Rus-
sian empire

Slavonic peoples

The Russian sovereigns were thus of Swedish origin; but their subjects were of another race. They belonged to a branch of the great Aryan division, called the Slavic, or Slavonic, which was the last to become historically known. The Slavonians bore no important part in events that we have knowledge of until several centuries of

Their early
and later
homes

the Christian era had passed. They were the obscure inhabitants in that period of a wide region in eastern Europe, between the Vistula and the Caspian. In the sixth century, pressed by the Avars, they crossed the Vistula, moving westwards, along the Baltic; and, about the same time, they moved southwards, across the Danube, and established settlements which formed the existing Slavonic states in south-eastern Europe—Servia, Croatia and their lesser neighbors. But the principal seat of the Slavonic race within historic times has always been in the region still occupied by its principal representatives, the Russians and the Poles.

Rise of Hungary

Magyars

Hungary was a new kingdom now rising in rank. The country which received that name, embracing the greater part of Roman Dacia and Pannonia, had been overrun and occupied in succession by Huns, Avars and other barbaric invaders from the east. Its final possessors came from somewhere in the vast Tataric breeding-place of Asiatic nomads. They called themselves Magyars; but the Russians are said to have given them the name of Ugri, from a region in the southern part of the Ural mountains which they occupied for a time; and the words Hungary and Hungarian appear to be corrupted forms of that name. Under Arpad, their elected chief, they entered and took forcible possession of their final home in the later years of the ninth century, and

soon, by their savage raids on all their neighbors, made themselves the terror of surrounding lands. They were checked at last in these daring forays by the Germans, who rallied against them and shattered their armies in two terrific fights. Thereafter they assumed a quieter and more settled mode of life. Before the close of the tenth century, Christian missionaries had made extensive conversions among them, and baptized Stephen, the heir to what was then a ducal throne. When Stephen became duke of Hungary he used both his influence and his power to make his subjects Christians, and the emperor and the pope concurred in bestowing upon him the higher title of king. Under Stephen the new monarchy was advanced in civilization, and acquired an important position among the central European states.

A. D. 934,
935

Conversion
to Chris-
tianity

The duke
becomes
king, A. D.
1000

Feudalism in western Europe

We have now come to a period in European history—the middle period of the Middle Ages—when it is appropriate to consider the peculiar state of society which had resulted from the transplanting of the Germanic nations of the north to the provinces of the Roman empire, and from placing the well civilized surviving inhabitants of the latter in subjection to masters so vigorous, so capable and so rude. In Gaul, the conquerors, unused to town life, not attracted to town pursuits, and eager for the possession of land, had generally spread themselves over the country and left the cities more undisturbed.

Emerton,
*Medieval
Europe*,
ch. 14

Bémont
and Monod
*Medieval
Europe*,
ch. 16

The Roman-Gallic population of the country had sought refuge, no doubt, to a large extent, in the cities; the agricultural laborers were already, for the most part, slaves or half-slaves—the *coloni* of the Roman system—and remained in their servitude; while some of the poorer class of freemen may have sunk to the same state.

How far the new masters of the country had taken possession of its land by actual seizure, ousting the former owners, and under what rules, if any, it was divided among them, are questions in great doubt. In the time of Charlemagne, there seems to have been a large number of small landowners who cultivated their own holdings, which they owned, not conditionally, but absolutely, by the tenure called allodial. But alongside of these peasant proprietors there was another landed class whose estates were held on very different terms, and this latter class, at the time now referred to, was absorbing the former. It was a class which had not existed before, among the Germans or among the Romans, and the system of land tenure on which it rested was equally new to each, though something seems to have been contributed to its origin by both.

This was the feudal system, which may be described, in the words of Bishop Stubbs, as being “a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which, from the king down to the landowner, all are bound together by obligation of service and defense: the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do

New system of land tenures

Stubbs,
Constitutional History of England
(6th ed.),
1: 274

service to his lord; the defense and service being based on, and regulated by, the nature and extent of the land held by the one of the other." Of course, the service exacted was military, in the main, and the system grew up as a military system, expanding into a general governing system, during a time of lax authority and law. That it was a thing of gradual growth is now fairly well settled, though little is known of the process of growth. It came to its perfection in the tenth century, by which time most other tenures of land had disappeared. The allodial tenure gave way before it, because, in those disorderly times, men of small or moderate property in land were in need of the protection which a powerful lord, who had many retainers at his back, or a strong monastery, could give, and were induced to surrender, to one or the other, their free ownership of the land they held, receiving it back as tenants, in order to establish the relation which secured a protecting arm.

Why free
landowners
became
vassals

In its final organization, the feudal system, as stated before, embraced the whole society of the kingdom. Theoretically, the king was the pinnacle of the system. In the political view of the time—so far as a political view existed—he was the over-lord of the realm rather by reason of being its ultimate land-lord, than by being the center of authority and the guardian of law. The greater subordinate lordships of the kingdom—the dukedoms and counties—were held as huge estates, called fiefs, derived originally by grant

Feudalism
politically

Fiefs

Sub-infeud-
ation

from the king, subject to the obligation of military service, and to certain acts of homage, acknowledging the dependent relationship. The greater feudatories, or vassals, holding immediately from the king, were lords in their turn of a second order of feudatories who held lands under them; and they again might divide their territories among vassals of a third degree; for the process of sub-infeudation went on until it reached the cultivator of the soil, who bore the whole social structure of society on his bent back.

Disinte-
grating
effects of
the system

But the feudal system would have wrought few of the effects which it did if it had involved nothing but land tenure and military service. It became, however, as intimated before, a system of government, and one which produced an inevitable disintegration of society and a destruction of national bonds. A grant of territory generally carried with it almost a grant of sovereignty over the inhabitants of the territory, limited only by certain rights and powers reserved to the king, which he found extreme difficulty in exercising. The system was one "in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class next below him; in which abject slavery formed the lowest and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade; in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institutions of government."

Stubbs,
*Constitutional His-
tory of
England*,
I : 278

This was the singular system which had its original and special growth among the Franks, in the Middle Ages, and which spread from them,

under similar conditions, to other countries, with modifications and limitations in differing degrees. Its influence was opposed to political unity and social order, and to the development of institutions in the interest of the people at large.

But an opposing influence had kept life in one part of society which feudalism was not able to envelop. That was in cities. The cities, as stated before, had been the refuge of a large and perhaps a better part of the Roman-Gallic free population which survived the barbarian conquest. They, in conjunction with the church, preserved, without doubt, so much of the plant of Roman civilization as was not destroyed. They suffered heavily, and languished for several centuries; but a slow revival of industries and arts went on in them; trade crept again into its old channels, or found new ones, and wealth began to be accumulated anew. With the consciousness of wealth came feelings of independence; and such towns were now beginning to acquire the spirit which made them, a little later, important instruments in the weakening and breaking of the feudal system.

Mediæval
cities

Dissolution of the Carolingian empire

During the period between the death of Charlemagne and the settlement of the Normans in the Carolingian empire, that empire had become lastingly divided. The final separation had taken place between the kingdom of the east Franks, or Germany, and the kingdom of the west Franks,

Lotharingia

Burgundy

which became France. Between them stretched a region in dispute called Lotharingia, out of which came the duchy of Lorraine. The kingdom of Burgundy (sometimes cut into two) and the kingdom of Italy, had regained a separate existence; and the empire which Charlemagne had revived was nothing but a name. The last of the Carolingian emperors was Arnulf, who died in 899. The imperial title was borne afterwards by a number of petty Italian potentates, but lost all imperial significance for two-thirds of a century, until it was restored to some grandeur again and to a lasting influence in history, by another German king.

The kingdom of the West Franks, or France

Hugh Capet
duke of the
French,
elected
king,
A. D. 987

Before this occurred, the Carolingian race of kings had disappeared from both the Frank kingdoms. During the last hundred years of their reign in the west kingdom, the throne had been disputed with them two or three times by members of a rising family, the counts of Paris and Orleans, who were also called dukes of the French, and whose duchy gave its name to the kingdom which they finally made their own. The kings of the old race held their capital at Laon, with little power and a small dominion, until 987, when the last one died. The then count of Paris and duke of the French, Hugh, called Capet, became king of the French, by election; Paris became the capital of the kingdom, and the France of modern times had its birth, though very far from its full growth.

The royal power had now declined to extreme weakness. The development of feudalism had undermined all central authority, and Hugh Capet as king had scarcely more power than he drew from his own large fief. "At first he was by no means acknowledged in the kingdom; but . . . the chief vassals ultimately gave at least a tacit consent to the usurpation, and permitted the royal name to descend undisputed upon his posterity. But this was almost the sole attribute of sovereignty which the first kings of the third dynasty enjoyed. For a long period before and after the accession of that family, France has, properly speaking, no national history."

Hallam,
Middle
Ages, I : 23

When the royal power began to gain ascendancy, it seems to have been largely in consequence of an alliance formed tacitly between the kings and the commons or burghers of the towns. The latter, as noted before, were acquiring a spirit of independence, born of increased prosperity, and were converting their guilds or trades unions into crude forms of municipal organization, as "communes" or commons. Sometimes by purchase and sometimes by force, they were ridding themselves of the feudal pretensions which neighboring lords held over them, and were obtaining charters which defined and guaranteed municipal rights. One or two kings of the time happened to be wise enough to give encouragement to this movement towards the enfranchisement of the communes, and it proved to have an important influence in weakening feudalism and strengthening the crown.

The kings
and the
communes

The kingdom of the East Franks, or Germany

An elective
monarchy

In the German kingdom, much the same processes of disintegration had produced much the same results as in France. The great fiefs into which it was divided—the duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria—were even more powerful than the great fiefs of France. When the Carolingian dynasty came to an end, in 911, the nobles made choice of a king, electing Conrad of Franconia, and, after him, Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony. The monarchy continued thereafter to be elective, actually as well as in theory, for a long period of time. Thrice the crown was kept in the same family during several successive generations: in the house of Saxony from 919 to 1024; in the house of Franconia from 1024 to 1137; in the house of the Hohenstaufens, of Swabia, from 1137 to 1254; but it never became an acknowledged heritage until long after the Hapsburgs won possession of it; and even to the end the forms of election were preserved.

The Germanic-Roman (known later as the Holy Roman) Empire

Otho I.,
called the
Great, A.D.
936-973

The second king of the Saxon dynasty, Otho I., called the Great, recovered the imperial title, which had become extinct again in the west, added the crown of Lombardy to the crown of Germany, and founded anew the Germanic Roman empire, which Charlemagne had failed to establish durably, but which now became one of the conspicuous facts of European history for

more than eight hundred years, though seldom more than a shadow and a name. But the shadow and the name were those of the great Rome of antiquity, and the mighty memory it had left in the world gave a superior dignity and rank to these German emperors, even while it diminished their actual power as kings in their own land. Indeed, it conferred upon them more than rank and dignity; it bestowed an "office," which the ideas and feelings of that age could not leave unfilled.

The imperial office seemed to be required, in matters temporal, to balance and to be the complement of the papal office in matters spiritual.

The
imperial
office

"In nature and compass the government of these two potentates is the same, differing only in the sphere of its working; and it matters not whether we call the pope a spiritual emperor, or the emperor a secular pope." "Thus the Holy Roman church and the Holy Roman empire are one and the same thing, in two aspects; and Catholicism, the principle of the universal Christian society, is also Romanism; that is, rests upon Rome as the origin and type of its universality." These mediæval ideas of the "Holy Roman empire," as it came to be called (not immediately, but after a time), gave importance to the imperial coronation thenceforth claimed by the German kings. It was a factitious importance, so far as concerned the immediate realm of those kings. In Germany, while it brought no increase to their material power, it tended to alarm feudal jealousies; it

Bryce, *Holy
Roman
Empire*,
106-7

Ill conse-
quences in
Germany

tended to draw the kings away from their natural identification with their own country; it tended to distract them from an effective royal policy at home, by foreign ambitions and aims; altogether it interfered seriously with the nationalization of Germany, and gave a longer play to the disruptive influences of feudalism in that country than in any other.

Italy, the empire and the papacy

Evil state
of Rome

Otho I. had won Italy and the imperial crown very easily. For more than half a century the peninsula had been in a deplorable state. The elective Lombard crown, quarreled over by the ducal houses of Friuli, Spoleto, Ivrea, Provence and others, settled nowhere with any sureness, and lost all dignity and strength, though several of the petty kings who wore it had been crowned emperors by the pope. At Rome, all legitimate government, civil or ecclesiastical, had disappeared. The city and the church had been for years under the rule of a family of courtesans, who made popes of their lovers and their sons. Southern Italy was ravaged by the Saracens, who occupied Sicily, and northern Italy was desolated by the Hungarians.

A. D. 951

In these circumstances, Otho I., the German king, listened to an appeal from an oppressed queen, Adelaide, widow of a murdered king, and crossed the Alps, like a gallant knight, to her relief. He chastised and humbled the oppressor, rescued and married the queen. A few years

later, on further provocation, he entered Italy again, deposed the troublesome King Berengar, caused himself to be crowned king of Italy, and received the imperial crown at Rome from one of the vilest of a vile brood of popes, John XII. Soon afterward, he was impelled to convoke a synod which deposed this disgraceful pope and elected in his place Leo VIII., who had been Otho's chief secretary. The citizens now conceded to the emperor an absolute veto on papal elections, and the new pope confirmed their act. The German sovereigns, from that time, for many years, asserted their right to control the filling of the chair of St. Peter, and exercised the right many times.

Otho
crowned
emperor,
A. D. 962

Nominally they were sovereigns of Rome and Italy; but during their long absences from the country they made hardly a show of administrative government in it, and their visits were generally of the nature of expeditions for a reconquest of the land. Their claims of sovereignty were resisted more and more, politically throughout Italy and ecclesiastically at Rome. The papacy emancipated itself from their control and acquired a natural leadership of Italian opposition to German imperial pretensions. The conflict between these two forces became, as will be seen later on, one of the dominating facts of European history for four centuries—from the eleventh to the fourteenth.

Empire and
papacy op-
posed in
Italy

The disorder, hardly checked in Italy since the Goths came into it,—the practical extinction of

Rise of the
Italian city-
republics

central authority after Charlemagne dropped his scepter, and the increasing conflicts of the nobles among themselves,—had one consequence of remarkable importance. It opened opportunities to many cities in the northern parts of the peninsula for acquiring municipal freedom, which they did not lack spirit to improve. They led the movement and set the example which created, a little later, so many vigorous communes in Flanders and France, and imperial free cities in Germany at a still later day. They were earlier in winning their liberties, and they pushed them farther,—to the point in many cases of creating, as at Pisa, Genoa, Florence, and Venice, a republican city-state.

Venice

Venice, growing up in the security of her lagoons, from a cluster of fishing villages to a great city of palaces, had been independent from the beginning, except as she acknowledged for a time the nominal supremacy of the eastern emperor. Others won their way to independence through struggles that are now obscure, and developed, before these dark centuries reached their close, an energy of life and a splendor of genius that come near to comparison with the power and the genius of the Greeks. But, like the city-republics of Greece, they were perpetually at strife with one another, and sacrificed to their mutual jealousies, in the end, the precious liberty which made them great, and which they might, by a well settled union, have preserved.

Destruc-
tive
jealousies
and strife

Such were the conditions existing or taking

shape in Italy when the empire in the west—the Holy Roman empire of later times—was founded anew by Otho the Great. Territorially, the empire as he left it covered Germany to its full extent, and two-thirds of Italy, with the emperor's superiority acknowledged by the subject states of Burgundy, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Denmark and Hungary—the last named with more dispute.

Extent of
the empire
under
Otho I.

Otho the Great died in 972. His two immediate successors, Otho II. and Otho III., accomplished little, though the latter had great ambitions, planning to raise Rome to her old place as the capital of the world; but he died in his youth in Italy, and was succeeded by a cousin, Henry II., whose election was contested on both sides of the Alps. In Italy, the great nobles placed Ardoïn, marquis of Ivrea, on the Lombard throne; but factions among them caused his overthrow, and Henry reclaimed the crown.

Close of the
Saxon line
of emperors

Henry II. was the last of the Saxon line, and upon his death the house of Fraconia came to the throne, by the election of Conrad II., called "the Salic." Under Conrad, the kingdom of Burgundy, afterward called the kingdom of Arles (which is to be distinguished from the French duchy of Burgundy—the northwestern part of the old kingdom), was reunited to the empire, by the bequest of its last king, Rudolph III. Conrad's son, grandson and great grandson (Henry III., IV. and V.) succeeded him in due order.

The Fran-
conian line

Under Henry III. the empire was at the sum-

Henry III.,
A. D. 1039-
1056

mit of its power. Henry II., exercising the imperial prerogative, had raised the duke of Hungary to royal rank, giving him the title of king. Henry III. now forced the Hungarian king to acknowledge the imperial supremacy and pay tribute. The German kingdom was ruled with a strong hand and peace among its members compelled. "In Rome, no German sovereign had ever been so absolute. A disgraceful contest between three claimants of the papal chair had shocked even the reckless apathy of Italy. Henry deposed them all and appointed their successor." "The synod passed a decree granting to Henry the right of nominating the supreme pontiff; and the Roman priesthood, who had forfeited the respect of the world even more by habitual simony than by the flagrant corruption of their manners, were forced to receive German after German as their bishop, at the bidding of a ruler so powerful, so severe and so pious. But Henry's encroachments alarmed his own nobles no less than the Italians, and the reaction, which might have been dangerous to himself, was fatal to his successor. A mere chance, as some might call it, determined the course of history. The great emperor died suddenly in A. D. 1056, and a child was left at the helm, while storms were gathering that might have demanded the wisest hand."

The empire
at its zenith

Henry's su-
premacy at
Rome.

Bryce, *The
Holy Ro-
man Em-
pire*, 152

Henry IV.
and Hilde-
brand

The child was Henry IV., who succeeded his father in 1056; the storms which beset him blew from Rome. The papacy, lifted from its degradation by Henry's father and grandfather, had

recovered its boldness of tone and enlarged its pretensions and claims. It had come under the influence of an extraordinary man, the monk Hildebrand, who swayed the councils of four popes before he became pope himself, and whose pontifical reign as Gregory VII. is the epoch of greatest importance in the history of the Roman church.

Hildebrand
Pope
Gregory
VII., A. D.
1073-1085

The overmastering ascendancy of the popes, in the church and over all who acknowledge its communion, really began when this invincible monk was raised to the papal throne. He broke the priesthood and the whole hierarchy of the west to obedience by his relentless discipline. He isolated them, as an order apart, by forbidding them to marry; and he suppressed the corrupting practices of simony—the buying and selling of honors and profitable offices in the church. Then, when he had marshaled the forces of the church, he proclaimed its independence and its supremacy in absolute terms.

Stephens,
*Hildebrand
and his
Times*

His disci-
pline of the
church

In the growth of feudalism throughout Europe, the church had become entangled in many ways with the civil powers. Many of its bishoprics and abbeys had acquired the nature of fiefs, and bishops and abbots were required to do homage to a secular lord, before they could receive an “investiture” of the rich estates which had become attached by a feudal tenure to their sees. The ceremony of investiture, moreover, included delivery of the crozier and the pastoral ring, which were the very symbols of their spiritual

Feudalism
and the
church

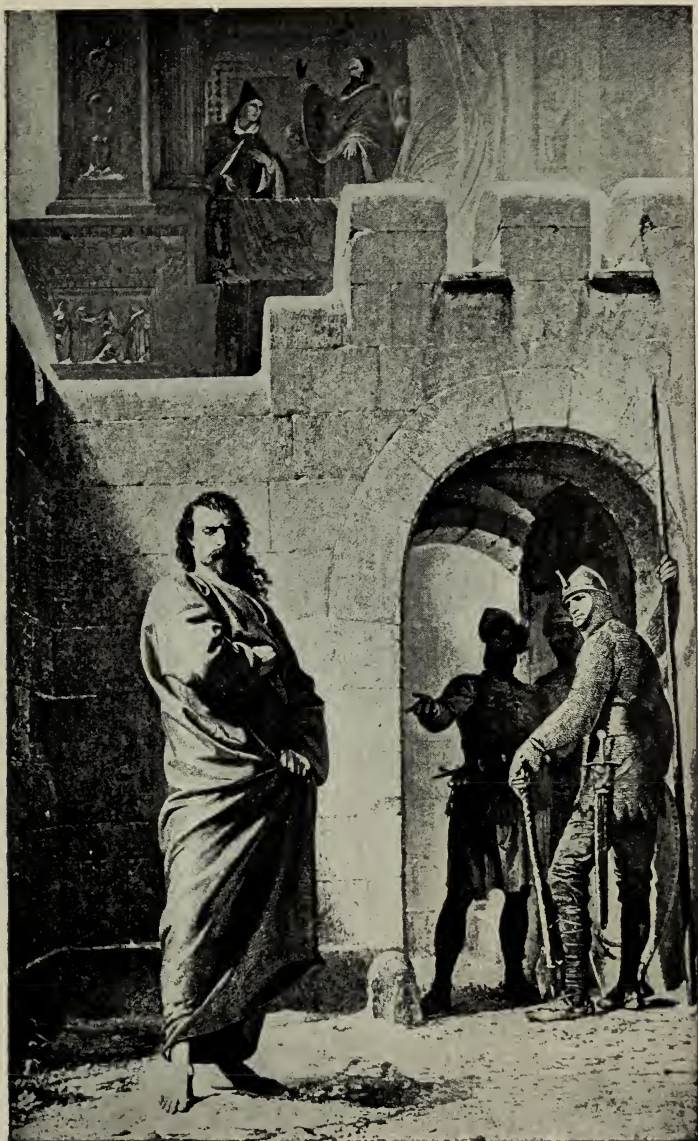
The "war
of investi-
tures"

Henry IV.
at Canossa,
A. D. 1077

His revenge

office. Against this dependence of the church upon temporal powers, Gregory now arrayed it in revolt, and began the "war of investitures," which lasted for half a century. The great battle ground was Germany; the German king, of necessity, was the chief opponent; and Henry IV., whose youth had been trained badly, and whose authority had been weakened by a long, ill-guardianed minority, was at a disadvantage in the contest. His humiliation at Canossa, when he stood through three winter days, a suppliant before the door of the castle which lodged the inflexible pope, praying to be released from the dread penalties of excommunication, is one of the familiar tableaux of history. He had a poor revenge seven years later, when he took Rome, drove Gregory into the castle St. Angelo, and seated an anti-pope in the Vatican, who crowned him emperor. But his triumph was brief. There came to the rescue of the beleaguered pope certain new actors in Italian history, whom it is now necessary to introduce.

The settlement of predatory Northmen on the Seine, which took the name of Normandy and the constitution of a ducal fief of France, had long since grown into an important half-independent state. Its people—now called Normans in the smoother speech of the south—had lost something of their early rudeness, and had fallen a little under the spell of the rising chivalry of the age; but the goad of a warlike temper which drove their fathers out of Norway still pricked



HENRY IV AT CANOSSA

From the painting by Eduard Schwoisser (1827-) in the Maximilianeum, Munich

the sons and sent them abroad, in restless search of adventures and gain. Some found their way into the south of Italy, where Greeks, Lombards and Saracens were fighting merrily, and where a good sword and a tough lance were tools of the only industry well-paid.

Normans
in southern
Italy

Presently there was banded among them there a little army, which found itself a match for any force that Greek or Lombard, or other opponent, could bring against it, and which proceeded accordingly to work its own will in the land. It seized Apulia and divided it into twelve countships, as an aristocratic republic. Pope Leo IX. led an army against it and was beaten and taken prisoner. To release himself he was compelled to grant the duchy they had taken to them, as a fief of the church, and to extend his grant to whatever else they might succeed in taking. The chiefs of the Normans had been, in succession, three sons of a poor gentleman in the Cotentin, Tancred by name, who now sent a fourth son to the scene. This newcomer was Robert, having the surname of Guiscard, who became the fourth leader of the Norman troop, and who, in a few years, assumed the title of duke of Calabria and Apulia. His duchies comprised, substantially, the territory of the later kingdom of Naples. A fifth brother, Roger, had meantime crossed to Sicily, with a small following of his countrymen, and, between 1060 and 1090, had expelled the Saracens from that island, and possessed it as a fief of his brother's duchy. But in the next generation

Papal grant
of Apulia to
them, A.D.
1053

Robert and
Roger
Guiscard

Kingdom
of Sicily

these relations between the two conquests were reversed. The son of Roger received the title of king of Sicily from the pope, and Calabria and Apulia were annexed to his kingdom, through the extinction of Robert's family.

The Nor-
mans to the
rescue of
Pope Greg-
ory VII.

These Normans of southern Italy were the allies who came to the rescue of Pope Gregory, when the emperor, Henry IV., besieged him in Castle St. Angelo. He summoned Robert Guiscard as a vassal of the church, and the response was prompt. Henry and his Germans

Suffering of
Rome at
their hands,
A. D. 1084

retreated when the Normans came near, and the latter entered Rome. Accustomed to pillage, they began, soon, to treat the city as a captured place, and the Romans rose against them. They

Milman,
*History of
Latin
Christian-
ity*, 3 : 197

retaliated with torch and sword, and once more Rome suffered from the destroying rage of a barbarous soldiery let loose. "Neither Goth nor Vandal, neither Greek nor German, brought such desolation on the city as this capture by the Normans." Duke Robert made no attempt to hold the ruined capital, but withdrew to his own dominions. The pope went with him, and died soon afterward, unable to return to Rome. But the imperious temper he had imparted to the church was fixed lastingly in it, and his lofty pretensions were even surpassed by the pontiffs who succeeded him. He spoke for the papacy the first syllables of that awful proclamation that was sounded in its finality, after eight hundred years, when the dogma of infallibility was put forth.

Death of
Gregory
VII., A. D.
1085

Norman conquest of England

The Normans in Italy established no durable power. In another quarter they were more fortunate. Their kinsmen, the Danes, who subjugated England and annexed it to their own kingdom in 1016, had lost it again in 1042. The old line of kings was then restored, in the person of Edward, called the Confessor, whose gentleness and piety caused him, when he died, to be named among the saints. On the side of his mother, this King Edward was cousin to William, the powerful duke of Normandy, and he had lived in exile at the Norman court while the Danish kings held possession of the English throne. As a consequence, he was more Norman than English in his feelings, and offended his subjects by bringing Norman favorites with him when he came back to England as king. His Normanizing policy was resented especially by a West Saxon earl, named Godwine, who had risen to great power in the reign of the Danish king Canute, and whose daughter Edward married at the beginning of his reign. For a time Godwine and his sons were driven out of England; but they returned with strong forces, expelled the king's Norman favorites, and forced him to surrender, practically, the whole power of government into Earl Godwine's hands. In 1053 the earl died and his power passed to his son Harold, who governed England in King Edward's name for thirteen years. Then the king died, without children, and Earl Harold was elected king by the national Witenagemot,—

Edward the
Confessor,
A. D. 1042-
1066

Earl God-
wine

Earl
Harold
elected
king,
A. D. 1066

that is, the great council or assembly of the wise.

The crown
claimed by
the duke of
Normandy

At once Harold's title to the crown was disputed by Duke William of Normandy, who claimed it for himself, on two grounds: (1) that King Edward had promised him the succession; (2) that Harold, being at one time a shipwrecked captive in Normandy, had acknowledged him and sworn fealty to him as Edward's heir. These claims had no validity, for neither Edward nor Harold had a right to dispose of the English crown. Succession to it had always been subject to a national election, in some form. But different notions of kingship were prevailing on the continent, and Duke William's claims were considered generally to be good. With the pope's approval he invaded England, in the early autumn of that year, and won the kingdom in the great and decisive battle of Senlac, or Hastings, where Harold was slain. On Christmas Day he was crowned, and a few years sufficed to end all resistance to his authority. He established on the English throne a dynasty which, though shifting sometimes to collateral lines, has held it to the present day.

His decisive
victory at
Senlac,
A. D. 1066

Subjuga-
tion of the
English
people

The English people were brought low by their subjugation, and the yoke which the Normans laid upon them was heavy indeed. They were stripped of their lands by confiscation; they were disarmed and disorganized; every attempt at rebellion failed miserably, and every failure brought wider confiscations. The old nobility suffered most and its ranks were thinned. Eng-

land became Norman in its aristocracy and remained English in its commons and its villeinage.

Nevertheless, as estimated by its greatest historian, Professor Freeman, the Norman conquest wrought more good effects than ill to the English people. It did not sweep away their laws, customs or language, but it modified them all, and not unfavorably; while "it aroused the old national spirit to fresh life, and gave the conquered people fellow-workers in their conquerors." The monarchy was strengthened by William's advantages as a conqueror, used with the wisdom and moderation of a statesman. Feudalism came into England stripped of its disrupting forces; and the possible alternative of absolutism was hindered by potent checks. At the same time, the conquest brought England into relations with the continent which might otherwise have arisen very slowly, and thus gave an early importance to the nation in European history.

Before the Norman conquest, feudalism had crept into England, and was working a slow change of its old free Germanic institutions. The Normans quickened and widened the change. At the same time they controlled it in certain ways, favorably both to the monarchy and the people. They established a feudal system, but it was a system different from that which broke up the unity of both kingdoms of the Franks. William, shrewd statesman that he was, took care that no dangerous great fiefs should be created;

Effects of
the con-
quest

Freeman,
*History of
the Norman
Conquest*,
5 : ch. xxiii

Feudalism
modified in
England

No great
fiefs

Direct
allegiance
to the
crown

and he took care, too, that every landlord in England should swear fealty direct to the king,—thus placing the crown in immediate relations with all its subjects, permitting no intermediary lord to take their first allegiance to himself and pass it on at second hand to a mere crowned overlord.

Strength of
the mon-
archy

The effect of this diluted organization of feudalism in England was to make the monarchy so strong, from the beginning, that both aristocracy and commons were put on their defense against it, and acquired a feeling of association, a sense of common interest, a habit of alliance, which became important influences in the political history of the nation. In France, as we have seen, there had been nothing of this. There, at the beginning, the feudal aristocracy was dominant, and held itself so haughtily above the commons, or “third estate,” that no political coöperation between the two orders could be thought of when circumstances produced the need. The kings slowly undermined the aristocratic power, using the communes in the process; and when, at last, the power of the monarchy had become threatening to both orders in the state, they were separated by too great an alienation of feeling and habit to act well together.

Different
conditions
in France

Germanic
institutions
preserved
in England

It was the great good fortune of England that feudalism was curbed by a strong monarchy. It was the greater good fortune of the English people that their primitive Germanic institutions—their folk-moots, and their whole simple popular sys-

tem of local government—should have had so long and sturdy a growth before the feudal scheme of society began seriously to intrude upon them. The Norman conqueror did no violence to those institutions. He claimed to be a lawful English king, respecting English law. The laws, the customs, the organization of government, were, indeed, greatly modified in time; but the modification was slow, and the base of the whole political structure that rose in the Anglo-Norman kingdom remained wholly English.

The Normans brought with them into England a more active, enterprising, inquiring spirit than had animated the land before. They brought an increase of learning and of the appetite for knowledge. They brought a more educated taste in art, to improve the building of the country and its workmanship in general. They brought a wider acquaintance with the affairs of the outside world, and drew England into political relations with her continental neighbors, which were not happy for her in the end, but which may have contributed to her development for a time. They brought, also, a more powerful organization of the church, which gave England trouble in later days.

Norman
influences
in England

The Chinese empire

In China this period was one of trouble and decline,—of increasing harassment from foes without and increasing disorder and disruptions within. Early in the tenth century the prolonged rule of the Tang dynasty came to an end. Many

Khitans

Kins

of its twenty emperors had preserved more or less of the vigor imparted to the government by the great Taitsong; but the race decayed in its later generations, while troubles thickened and dangers grew. In the great Tatar region of the north and northeast, one chief after another rose to power, mastering and combining many tribes, to run a career of conquest and rapine, and give a name to an ephemeral nation, which a rival combination of tribes would extinguish in due time. Thus, in the tenth century, a dominion of this nature, over people called Khitans or Leaous, formed somewhere in Mongolian territory, became able in a short time to seat itself in the Chinese provinces of Leaoutung and Pechili, where it not only daunted but dominated the empire for many years. Meantime the evolution of another transient nationality was beginning in Manchuria, among Tatars who took finally the name of Kins, and who, at a later day, drove the Khitans from their seat and succeeded to their power.

Japan

The Japanese government, at this time, was in the early stages of an important change. It assimilated the Chinese bureaucratic system, without putting it into the hands of a class of "literati," turned out by the schools. Opportunity remained, as there did not in China, for the growth of an hereditary office-grasping aristocracy, and for struggles within its membership for

power. Theoretically, the sovereigns, the mikados, were absolute; but practically the reins of government slipped from their hands. From the seventh century to the middle of the eleventh the government was controlled by a lordly family, the Fujiwara by name, whose sons held the great offices and whose daughters were married to the nominal sovereigns of the state. It became a common practice for the mikados to abdicate, after bearing their empty title for a few years, and retire to a monastery, doing so either willingly, to escape from a position of really helpless and wearisome captivity, or under compulsion, to give place to a more submissive puppet,—some child of the imperial race being the usual choice.

The Fuji-
waras

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF HILDEBRAND TO THE EXILE OF DANTE

(A. D. 1085 to 1302)

Importance of the period. *The Crusades*: Provoked by the Seldjuk Turks.—Their origin.—Their conquests.—The first three crusades.—Sultan Saladin.—Alexius Comnenus and the crusaders.—Effects of the crusades. *Learning and Literature*: Rise of universities and common schools.—Growth of literature.—Chansons de geste.—Heroic epics and romances.—Troubadours and trouvères.—The Arthurian legends.—Icelandic sagas. *Knighthood and chivalry*: The pride of the man on horseback.—Good and evil influences. *Religion and the church*: Mendicant and military religious orders.—Increasing clerical influence. *The Holy Roman empire*: The Hohenstaufen emperors and the popes.—Factions of the time.—Welfs and Waiblingens.—Guelfs and Ghibellines.—Frederick Barbarossa.—Pope Innocent III.—Frederick II. *Germany and the empire*: Weakening of the German monarchy.—Petty principalities.—Free cities.—The Hanseatic League.—Rise of the house of Austria. *Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence*: Venetian dominion and trade.—Wars.—Government.—Turbulent factions in Florence.—Exile of Dante.—Radical democracy. *The kingdom of France*: Its growth.—Recovery of Normandy and Anjou.—Philip Augustus.—Louis IX. (Saint Louis).—Philip IV. *England*: Under the Norman kings.—The Plantagenets.—Henry II. and his good work.—His quarrel with Becket.—King John and Magna Carta.—Simon de Montfort.—The Barons' War.—Edward I. and his "model parliament." *Spain*: Rise of Christian kingdoms.—Decay of the Moorish power.—Early free institutions and their loss. *China and the Mongols*: Conquests of Genghis Khan and his successors.—The empire of Kublai Khan.—Marco Polo.

Importance
of the
period

We come now to a period of remarkable importance and interest in the mediæval re-fashioning of civilization. Political organization and social order were beginning to reappear with some distinctness in western Europe when we last looked over the ground. They furnished the conditions for thinking and feeling that would go on to finer results, if a due stimulus could be supplied; and that stimulus was given by the prolonged excitements and revelations of the crusades. Throughout the twelfth century the potent influences of the crusades were working in

the European mind and on the circumstances of European society; in the wonderful thirteenth century they produced their great effects, and the outcome gives a singular distinction to the period of our present survey.

For England it is the period of Magna Carta and of the first of all truly representative parliaments; the period in which the enduring bases of constitutional government were laid down. For Italy and Germany it is the period of the moulding of the city-republics and free cities into form. For France it is the period of the Albigenses, and of St. Louis and his judicial reforms. For Spain it is the period in which her people enjoyed more of political freedom than they ever knew again. Everywhere it was an age of impulses toward freedom, and of mighty upward strivings out of the bonds of the feudal state.

Politically

It was an age, too, of vast energies, directed with practical judgment and power. It organized the great league of the Hansa Towns, which surpassed, as an enterprise of combination in commercial affairs, the most stupendous undertakings of the present time. It put the weavers and traders of Flanders on a footing with knights and princes. In Venice and Genoa it crowned the merchant like a king. It sent Marco Polo to Cathay, and inoculated men with the itch of exploration from which they find no ease to this day.

Industrial-
ly and com-
mercially

It is the period of the beginning of a new creation of literature,—the saga and the edda of Ice-

In letters
and learn-
ing

land, the *chansons de geste*, the troubadour lays, the hero-romances and the folk-epics of France, England, Germany and Spain. It is the period which educated Dante and brought him to the eve of his immortal work. It is the period of the birth of universities and the germination of common schools.

In art and
religion

It is the period which saw painting revived as a living art in the world, and sculpture restored. It is the age of great church-building in Italy, in Germany and in France. It is the period of the creation of the mendicant orders in the church.

The Crusades

In the early years of this remarkable period, western Europe was stirred for the first time by a common feeling and common thoughts. A great cry ran through it, for help to deliver the holy places of the Christian faith from the infidels who possessed them. This was consequent upon a change that had taken place in the character of the Mohammedan masters of Palestine, and in their treatment of pilgrims who visited the Christian shrines. The sword and the authority of the prophet had passed from the Arabs to the Turks.

Origin of
the Turks

The first known home of the people who bear that name was on the slopes of the Altai mountains, within modern Siberia, and in the neighborhood of Lake Baikal, where they were subjects of a dominant Mongol power, supposed to be akin to themselves in race. In the sixth century they revolted with success and established a dominion

of their own, in central Asian regions, including modern Bokhara and Turkestan. There the Arabs, when they had subjugated Persia, came into touch with them, and began in the early part of the eighth century to make converts and subjects of those who dwelt between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers. In the wars that accomplished this a large number of Turks were captured and made slaves. They were a stalwart and warlike race, and, as their Arab conquerors lost energy, which happened soon, these Turkish slaves were put to use as soldiers, by the caliphs at Bagdad. Others of the same race, converted to Islam, were hired for the armed service of the faith. In due time the caliphate sank helplessly under the power of these armed servants, and its nominal sovereigns were puppets in their hands. The great Mohammedan empire of the seventh and eighth centuries broke into practically independent states, and the final rulers in most of the Asiatic parts were Turks.

Their conversion to Islam

From slavery to mastery of the caliphate

Early in the eleventh century the most powerful of the Turkish-Mohammedan dominions was one known as the Ghaznevide empire, which extended over northern Persia, part of Bokhara, Afghanistan, and most of the Punjab in Hindostan. Its founder was a Turkish slave, Sabek-tekín, who had been intrusted with the government of the city and province of Ghazni, in Afghanistan, and who, having acquired independence, began a career of conquest which his more famous son, Mahmud, carried to the extent de-

The Ghaznevide empire, 11th-12th centuries

scribed above. Mahmud invaded India twelve times, carrying his arms to Delhi and Lahore, and was the first to plant Mohammedanism durably in that part of the world. His dynasty ruled in the Punjab and Afghanistan for about a hundred years.

The
Seldjuk
Turks

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall*, ch.
lvii

Their do-
minion,
A. D. 1050-
1092

In the western and northwestern parts of their empire the Ghaznevites were supplanted soon after the death of Mahmud by the family of another Turkish chieftain, named Seldjuk, fresh from the wild life of the steppes, whom Mahmud, unwisely, had invited to settle in a portion of his domain. Very soon the Seldjucs were lords where they came as guests, and, at the end of the year 1050, Togrul Beg, grandson of their first leader, was in Bagdad, master of the caliphate itself. Two successors of Togrul Beg, his nephew, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah, Alp Arslan's son, wrested from the Byzantine empire the greater part of Asia Minor, which appears to have been at that time the most highly civilized part of the world. From the ruin they spread over that unhappy country it has never risen since. At Alp Arslan's death, in 1092, his dominion embraced nearly all that now belongs to Asiatic Turkey, together with the whole of Persia and Bokhara; but civil wars followed which broke it into four parts, and, in the next century, the Seldjuk dynasty was overthrown.

These were the possessors of Jerusalem and its sacred shrines, whose grievous and insulting treatment of Christian pilgrims, in the last years



PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

From the painting by James Archer (1824)

of the eleventh century, stirred Europe to wrath and provoked the great movement of the Crusades. The Saracens, as a rule, had been rather friendly than otherwise to the Christian pilgrims, from whom they collected a moderate toll; but the ruder Turks plundered and insulted them in exasperating ways. Returned pilgrims stirred up feeling on the subject by narrating their experiences, and one of them, known as Peter the Hermit, made it his mission to summon Europe to the rescue of the sepulchre of Christ. Pope Urban II., one of two rival pontiffs then contending for recognition by the church, commended the Hermit's project, at a great council which he called together at Clermont, in 1094, and a large part of the continent was soon aflame with eagerness to drive the infidels from the Holy Land. The pious and the adventurous, the fanatical and the vagrant, rose up in one motley and tumultuous response to the appeal, and mobs and armies (hardly distinguishable) of crusaders—warriors of the Cross—began to whiten the highways into Asia with their bones.

Turkish
treatment
of Christian
pilgrims

Peter the
Hermit

The first movement swept 300,000 men, women and children, under Peter the Hermit, to their death, with no other result; but nearly at the same time there went four armies, French and Norman for the most part, which reached Constantinople by various routes and passed into Asia Minor. United there, they captured Nicæa, the capital of a Turkish potentate who styled himself the sultan of Roum, defeated him in

The first
crusading
movements
A. D. 1096-
1099

Cox, *The
Crusades*

Siege and
capture of
Jerusalem,
A. D. 1099

battle at Dorylæum, and marched on to Syria, suffering dreadful hardships and losses of life in their campaign. A long siege, followed by a counter-siege, at Antioch, consumed many months, and it was not until June, 1099, that the crusaders reached the Holy City and assailed its formidable walls. Their number was reduced now to 40,000, but their ardor rose to frenzy, and after a siege of little more than a month they forced an entrance by storm. Then they spared neither age nor sex, until they had killed all who denied the Saviour of mankind,—the Prince of Peace.

Th^e king-
dom of
Jerusalem

The second
crusade,
A. D. 1147

For the government of their conquests in Palestine, the chiefs of the Crusade chose Godfrey of Bouillon, making his office one of actual regality, though he accepted no other title than that of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Godfrey lived less than a year after his election, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who reigned at Jerusalem eighteen years. Through many vicissitudes the kingdom was maintained for almost a century, hard pressed by the surrounding Moslems and often crying to Europe for help. A second crusade, in 1147, accomplished nothing for its relief, but spent vast multitudes of lives; and when, in 1187, the Holy City and its Sepulchre fell again into unbelieving hands, Christendom grew wild once more with passion, and a third crusade was set on foot.

Sultan
Saladin,
A. D. 1171-
1193

The new Mohammedan master of Christian holy places was Saladin, originally a Koord

soldier, who had risen to power by the force of superior character and mind. Having first put an end to a dynasty of schismatic caliphs called the Fatimites, in Egypt, and taken their throne, the bold Koord added a large part of Syria and Mesopotamia to his dominion, and then applied himself to the overthrow of the Christian kingdom in Palestine. In July, 1187, he defeated the Christian forces with great slaughter, in a battle near Tiberias, and offered to permit the defenders and inhabitants of Jerusalem to go peacefully from the place, having no wish, he said, to defile its hallowed soil with blood. When his offer was rejected, he made a vow to enter the city with his sword and to do as the Christians had done when they waded in blood through its streets. But when, after a short siege of fourteen days, Jerusalem was surrendered to him, he forgot his angry oath, and forgot the vengeance which might not have seemed strange in that age and that place. The sword of the victor was sheathed. The inhabitants were ransomed at a stipulated rate, and those for whom no ransom was paid were held as slaves. The sick and the helpless were permitted to remain in the city for a year, with the Knights of the Hospital—conspicuous among the enemies of Saladin and his faith—to attend upon their wants. The Crescent shone Christian-like as it rose over Jerusalem again. The Cross—the Crusaders' Cross—was shamed.

Saladin's
capture
of Jerusa-
lem, A. D.
1187

His gener-
ous human-
ity

The third crusade, to recover the Holy City, was led by the redoubtable emperor Frederick

The third
crusade,
A. D. 1188-
1192

Barbarossa, of Germany, King Richard Cœur de Lion, of England, and King Philip Augustus of France. The emperor perished miserably on the way, by drowning, and his army was wasted in its march; the French and English exhausted themselves in sieges which won nothing of durable advantage to the Christian world; the sultan Saladin gathered most of the laurels of war.

The crusading movement had important consequences, both immediate and remote; but its first effects were small in moment compared with those which lagged after. To understand either, it will be necessary to glance back at the later course of events in the eastern or Byzantine empire.

The Byzantine empire

The fortunes of the empire, since it gave up Syria and Egypt to the Saracens, had been, on the whole, less unhappy than the dark prospect of that time. It had checked the onrush of Arabs at the Taurus mountain range, and retained Asia Minor; it had held Constantinople against them through two terrible sieges; it had fought for three centuries, and finally subdued, a new Turanian enemy, the Bulgarians, who established a kingdom south of the Danube, where their name remains to the present day. The history of its court, during much of the period, had been a black and disgusting record of conspiracies, treacheries, murders, mutilations, usurpations and foul vices of every description; with now and

Revolting
annals of
its court

then a manly figure climbing to the throne and doing heroic things, for the most part uselessly; but the system of governmental administration seems to have been so well constructed that it worked with a certain independence of its vile or imbecile heads, and the country was better, probably, and better governed than its court.

At Constantinople, notwithstanding frequent tumults and revolutions, there had been material prosperity and a great gathering of wealth. The Saracen conquests, by closing other avenues of trade between the east and the west, had concentrated that most profitable commerce in the Byzantine capital. The rising commercial cities of Italy—Amalphi, Venice, Genoa, Pisa—seated their enterprises there. Art and literature, which had decayed, began then to revive, and Byzantine culture, on its surface, acquired more of superiority to that of Teutonic Europe.

Commerce
of Constantinople

The conquests of the Seldjuk Turks gave a serious check to this improvement of the circumstances of the empire. Momentarily, by dividing the Moslem power in Asia, the Turks had opened an opportunity to an energetic emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, to recover northern Syria and Cilicia. But when, in the next century, they had won complete mastery of the dominions of the caliphate of Bagdad, they swept back the Byzantines, and overran and occupied the most of Asia Minor and Armenia, as we have seen. A decisive victory at Manzikert, when the emperor of the moment was taken prisoner and his army annihilated, gave

Beset by
the Turks

Manzikert,
A. D. 1071

them well-nigh the whole territory to the Hellespont. The empire was reduced nearly to its European domain, and suffered ten years of civil war between rivals for the throne.

Alexius
Comnenus
I. A. D.
1081-1118

At the end of that time it acquired a ruler, in the person of the first Alexius Comnenus, who is the generally best known of all the Byzantine line, because he figures notably in the stories of the first crusade. He was a man of crafty abilities and complete unscrupulousness. He took the empire at its lowest state of abasement and demoralization. In the first year of his reign he had to face a new enemy. Robert Guiscard, the Norman, who had conquered a dukedom in southern Italy, thought the situation favorable for an attack on the eastern empire, and for winning the imperial crown. Twice he invaded the Greek peninsula and defeated the forces brought against him by Alexius; but troubles in Italy recalled him on the first occasion, and his death brought the second expedition to naught.

A. D. 1081,
1084

Byzantines
and Crusaders

Such was the situation of the Byzantines when the waves of the first crusade, rolling Asia-ward, surged up to the gates of Constantinople. It was a visitation that might well appall them,—these hosts of knights and vagabonds, fanatics and freebooters, who claimed and proffered help in a common Christian war with the infidels, and who, nevertheless, had no Christian communion with them—schismatics as they were, outside the Roman shepherd's fold. There is not a doubt that they feared the crusading Franks more than

Gibbon,
*Decline and
Fall*, ch.
lviii-lix

they feared the Turks. They knew them less, and the little hearsay knowledge they had was of a lawless, barbarous, fighting feudalism in the countries of the west,—more rough and uncouth, at least, than their own defter methods of murdering and mutilating one another. They received their dangerous visitors with nervousness and suspicion; but Alexius Comnenus proved equal to the delicate position in which he found himself placed. He burdened his soul with lies and perfidies: but he managed affairs so wonderfully that the empire plucked the best fruits of the first crusades, by recovering a great part of Asia Minor, with all the coasts of the Euxine and the Ægean, from the weakened Turks. The latter were so far shaken and depressed by the hard blows of the crusaders that they troubled the Byzantines very little in the century to come.

Recovery
of Asia
Minor from
the Turks

Against this immediate gain to the eastern empire from the early crusades, there were serious later offsets. The commerce of Constantinople declined rapidly, as soon as the Moslem blockade of the Syrian coast line was broken. It lost its monopoly. Trade ran back again into other reopened channels. The Venetians and Genoese became more independent. Formerly, they had received privileges in the empire as a gracious concession; now they dictated the terms of their commercial treaties and their naval alliances. Their rivalries involved the empire in quarrels with both, and a state of things was brought about which had much to do with the catastrophe

Venice,
Genoa and
the empire

Crusading
conquest of
Constantinople,
A. D. 1204

of 1204. In that year a crusade, sometimes numbered as the fourth and sometimes as the fifth in the crusading series, was diverted by Venetian influence from the rescue of Jerusalem to the conquest of Constantinople, ostensibly in the interest of a claimant of the imperial throne. The city was taken and pillaged, and the Greek line of emperors was supplanted by a Frank or Latin line, of which Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was the first. But this Latin empire was reduced to a fraction of the conquered dominion, the remainder being divided among several partners in the conquest; while two Greek princes of the fallen house saved fragments of the ancient realm in Asia, and throned themselves as emperors at Trebizond and Nicæa.

The Latin
or Frank
empire

The Latin empire was maintained, feebly and without dignity, a little more than half a century; and then it was extinguished by the sovereign of its Nicæan rival, Michael Palæologus, who took Constantinople by a night surprise, helped by treachery within. Thus the Greek or Byzantine empire was restored, but much shorn of its former European possessions, and much weakened by loss of commerce and wealth. Very soon it was involved in a fresh struggle for life with the Turks.

Effects of the Crusades in western Europe

Briefly noted, these were the consequences of the early crusades in the east. In western Europe they had slower, but deeper and more lasting effects. They weakened feudalism, by sending

abroad so many of the feudal lords, and by impoverishing so many more; whereby the towns gained more opportunity for enfranchisement, and the crown, in France particularly, acquired more power. They checked smaller wars and private quarrels for a time, and gave in many countries unwonted seasons of peace, in which civilizing influences could work on the thoughts and feelings of men. They brought men into fellowship who were accustomed to fight one another, and thus softened their provincial and national antipathies. They expanded the knowledge—the experience—the ideas—of the whole body of those who visited the east and who survived the adventurous expedition; made them acquainted with civilizations more polished at least than their own; taught them many things which they could only learn in those days by actual sight, and sent them back to their homes throughout Europe, to be instructors and missionaries, who did much to prepare western Christendom for the Renaissance or new birth of a later time.

Guizot,
History of
Civiliza-
tion,
I : 182-8

Larned,
History for
Ready
Reference,
I:Crusades

The twelfth century—the century of the great crusades—saw the gray daybreak in Europe, after the long night of darkness which settled down upon it in the fifth. In the thirteenth it reached the brightening dawn, and in the fifteenth it stood in the full morning of the modern day. Among all the movements by which it was pushed out of darkness into light, that of the crusades would appear to have been the most

Daybreak
of the
modern era

important; important in itself, as a social and political movement of great change, and important in the seeds that it scattered for a future harvest of effects.

Lessons
from By-
zantine and
Arabian
civiliza-
tions

In both the Byzantine and Arabian civilizations of the east there was much for western Europe to learn. Perhaps there was more in the last named than in the first; for the Arabs, when they came out from behind their deserts, and exchanged the nomadic life for the life of cities, had shown an amazing avidity for the lingering science of old Greece, which they encountered in Egypt and Syria. They had preserved more of it, and more of the old fineness of feeling that went with it, than survived in Greece itself, or in any part of the Teutonized empire of Rome. The crusaders got glimpses of its influence, at least, and a curiosity was awakened, that sent students into Moorish Spain, and opened scholarly interchanges, by which learning in Europe was greatly advanced.

Learning and Literature

Wakened
interest in
education

No doubt the crusading movements should be reckoned in part among the effects, as well as conspicuously among the causes, of a signal quickening of mind and spirit in western Europe that appears in the crusading age. Their beginning was nearly simultaneous with what seems to have been the first marked awakening of a wide interest in education and a new development of schools. The efforts of Charlemagne on the con-

tinent and of Alfred in England to improve and extend the teaching of their subjects had had no lasting effect. Until late in the eleventh century there were few schools, except those connected with monasteries and cathedrals, intended for the instruction (a very limited instruction generally) of priests. Then came the rise of two new classes of institutions, looking to the preparation of men for some other intelligent service than that of the church.

From one class, which offered at the outset a special teaching of medicine, as at Salerno, or of law, as at Bologna, or of theology and philosophy, as at Paris, sprang the great universities that were multiplied in Europe during the next two hundred years. For a long period the teaching of the universities may have borne little fruit of substantial knowledge. It was devoted to a shallow exposition of ancient writings, or it ran into barren disputations over abstract terms and names, trying to spin knowledge out of the brain, by ingenious "dialectics" or logical formulas, instead of searching for it and collecting it in the natural world of knowable things. But even while the universities persisted in those futilities of what is called scholastic philosophy, or scholasticism, and only exercised their students in ring-round courses of thinking that led nowhere, the exercise was athletic and stimulating; it broke a long settled stagnation of mind, and was good preparation, perhaps, for intellectual activities that were better directed at a little later

Rise of universities

Laurie, *Rise and Early Constitution of universities*, lect. 6-9

Scholasticism

Abelard

time. Such excitements of discussion as were stirred by the famous lectures of the brilliant Abelard, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, cannot have failed to have great intellectual effects.

Germs of
the com-
mon school

From institutions of the other class, making their appearance at about the same time, came the germs of the modern common school. They were founded in the enterprising commercial cities, then advancing to free action in many directions, especially in Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. Many of these early city schools, established in frequent cases by the guilds of the trades, were free from church control and wholly secular in their aims. Their creation is significant of a revolutionary change in public notions of education and its use.

Growth of
literature

Saintsbury,
*The Flour-
ishing of
Romance*

Chansons
de geste

At the same time, with the rise of universities and secular city schools, there came a growth of literature, springing apparently from old songs and romantic legends or folk tales of an earlier time. This new minstrelsy was inspired first in France, where a species of literature known as the *chansons de geste*, or songs of heroes and deeds, was produced in great abundance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with possibly some beginning at an earlier date. Most of the *chansons* are narrative of heroic incidents connected in some way with Charlemagne, and are often described as the "Charlemagne cycle" of mediæval romance. In the *langue d'oc* of southern France, a more melodious speech than that of

the north, a lyrical form of verse, devoted mostly to themes of love, was cultivated at about the same time by poets known as "*troubadours*," of Provence. The northern poets who composed the *chansons* bore the corresponding name of *trouvères*, or *trouveurs*; the minstrels who sang them were *jongleurs*.

Trouba-
dours, trou-
veurs and
jongleurs

After the lays of the *troubadours* and the recitals of the *trouvères*, there came a greater revival of heroic poetry and romance, in the same twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the ancient lays and legends of Germany received the epic forms in which we know them; when the *Nibelungenlied* was constructed; when the song of The Cid was sung in Spain; when the Welsh legends of King Arthur were taken up, in England, France and Germany, to be made the groundwork of that wonderful group of romances which kindle poetry and inspire music for the delight of the world to this day. So far as known, the first writing of the Arthurian legends was in England, a little before the middle of the twelfth century, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who brought forth a crude collection in what purported to be veritable British history. Geoffrey's stories of Arthur, written in Latin, were rhymed in French a few years later by Wace, a Norman poet of the isle of Jersey, who made some additions, including an introduction of the "Round Table" and its knights. The next step in the evolution of the Arthur romances was a Saxon paraphrase of Wace's *Roman de Brut*, as his poem

Heroic epic
and
romance

The Arthu-
rian legends

Walter
Map

was named, by Layamon, an English priest. Then the subject was taken in hand by a true poet, believed to have been Walter Map, an Englishman of Welsh extraction, who was one of the traveling justices of King Henry II., and who is known to have written some clever satirical poems against the monks. If Map was, as supposed, the creator of the romances of the Holy Grail and of Lancelot of the Lake, "which put the soul of poetry and spirituality into the crude legends of King Arthur," he leads the matchless line of the great poets of the British isle.

Early Ice-
landic
literature

Horn, *His-
tory of the
Literature
of the Scan-
dinavian
North*

Icelandic
collections
of Teutonic
mythology

It is a singular fact that the earliest literature of a really high quality that was produced in mediæval Europe came from none of its peoples in their European homes, but from the distant Norse colony of Iceland, in the mid-Atlantic ocean. More singular is the fact that nearly all that is known of any mediæval Scandinavian literature having the least distinction comes from the island colony in the far west; and more remarkable still is the fact that the same emigrant community supplies the best and fullest knowledge we have of that grandly poetical Teutonic mythology which the Scandinavian and the Germanic peoples received alike from the same ancestral race. The two Icelandic collections known as the Elder and the Younger Eddas, or the Poetic Edda, which is the elder, and the Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson, contain more of the primitive poetry and poetical and religious ideas of the ancient Teutonic peoples than is to be

gathered from any other source. Iceland was scarcely settled by the roving Vikings before the tenth century, and the conditions of life must have been hard; and yet, in the twelfth century, there was a literary culture among the hardy colonists which cherished and preserved the ancient poetry of their language more carefully than elsewhere, and which produced, at the same time, in the Icelandic Sagas, or Stories, a prose Sagas romance literature that is truer in art than the *trouvères* of France were producing in those years. Of the many sagas, there are five that rank in interest and quality above the rest, namely, *Njal's Saga*, *Egil's Saga*, *Laxdaela Saga*, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, and *Grettir's Saga*.

Knighthood and Chivalry

Sir Walter Scott, in his essay on Chivalry, refers to the primitive sense of the word, derived from the French *chevalier*, signifying merely the soldier on horseback, but he defines as his subject "the peculiar meaning given to the word in modern Europe, as applied to the order of knighthood, established in almost all her kingdoms during the middle ages, and the laws, rules and customs by which it was governed." "Those laws and customs," he adds, "have long been antiquated, but their effects may still be traced in European manners; and, excepting only the change which flowed from the introduction of the Christian religion, we know no cause which has produced such general and permanent difference

The distinction
assumed by
soldiers on
horseback

betwixt the ancients and moderns, as that which has arisen out of the institution of chivalry. . . . In the middle ages the distinction ascribed to soldiers serving on horseback assumed a very peculiar and imposing character. They were not merely respected on account of their wealth or military skill, but were bound together by a union of a very peculiar character, which monarchs were ambitious to share with the poorest of their subjects, and governed by laws directed to enhance, into enthusiasm, the military spirit and the sense of personal honor associated with it." In the judgment of Sir Walter, "chivalry began to dawn in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. It blazed forth with high vigor during the crusades, which indeed may be considered as exploits of national errantry, or general wars undertaken on the very same principles which actuated the conduct of individual knights adventurers."

Scott,
*Essay on
Chivalry*

Knight-
hood a class
union

It is easy to see that the "spirit of chivalry" had its root in the pride of the man on horseback, —his sense of advantage and superiority over the foot-soldier and the trudging man of labor and peace. When the aristocratic class-feeling bred by this became organized in the close unions of knighthood, it tended to produce among the members of the chivalric class an increasing respect and courtesy of conduct toward each other, but not apparently toward the rest of mankind. Within its own social bounds, it cultivated politeness, urbanity, and an honorable morality,

even in war; and that, so far as it went, and even farther, by its exemplary effects, was a civilizing influence of great worth. But, on the other hand, the whole institution of chivalry was a school of militarism and aristocracy, which left a stamp on society that is far to-day from being effaced.

Chivalry a school of militarism and aristocracy

Religion and the Church

Not the least important effect of the crusades was the atmosphere of religion which they caused to envelop the great affairs of the time, and which they made common in politics and society. The influence of the western or Latin church was increased by this; and its organization was strengthened by a great spiritual revival, which brought about the creation of the mendicant religious orders,—the Franciscans (1210) and Dominicans (1215),—whose *frères* (brothers), known commonly as friars, were vowed to a religious life very different from that of the monks. St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the order that received his name, though he himself called them only *Fratri Minori* (the lesser brothers), was the son of a wealthy Italian merchant, who felt called upon to obey literally the injunction of Jesus to the young man who “had great possessions:” “Go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor.” His example led others to strip themselves of wordly goods, and devote their lives to humble missionary work among the poor and wretched of the world, sheltered by no roof of their own, and trusting to charity for their

Mendicant religious orders

Herkless, *Francis and Dominic*

St. Francis of Assisi

daily bread. That life of absolute poverty, of Christian exhortation and of service to the distressed, was the life to which the Franciscan brothers were vowed; and, so long as the spirit of the founder prevailed in the order, it brought a mighty spiritual force to the strengthening of the church. The Dominican order, founded by St.

St. Dominic

Dominic, of Spain, was vowed likewise to poverty, but devoted more to Christian preaching and teaching and less to charitable work.

Of less importance to religion or the church were the military religious orders that sprang more directly from the excitements of the crusades. The order of the Knights Templars, instituted at Jerusalem by Hugh de Payens and eight companions, in 1118, was composed of men who took vows to be both monks and soldiers, devoted to the protection of the holy places in Palestine and of the pilgrims who went thither. In the same year, another body of the crusaders at Jerusalem, who had devoted themselves to the care of the sick, the wounded and the impoverished among their fellows, and among the pilgrims, took vows and were organized in the order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; and this, too, in one branch, became an order of military monks. Kindred in original purpose to this latter organization was that of the Teutonic Knights of the Hospital, founded at Jerusalem by a wealthy German, about 1128 or 1129. Each of these orders received munificent gifts, acquired enormous wealth, and lost most of

Knights
Templars

Knights
Hospitallers

Teutonic
Knights

the noble spirit that gave them life at the start.

To say that the western church gained influence from all the religious movements of the time is to say that the clergy gained it, and the chief of the clergy, the pope, concentrated the gain in himself. The whole clerical body was making encroachments in every field of politics upon the domain of the civil authority, using shrewdly the advantages of superior learning, and busying itself more and more in temporal affairs. The popes after Gregory VII. maintained his high pretensions and pursued his bold course. In most countries they encountered resistance from the crown; but the brunt of the conflict still fell upon the emperors, who, in some respects, were the most poorly armed for it.

Increasing
clerical
influence

As stated before, an entire separation of the Christian church in the east from that in the west had taken place before the beginning of the crusades. Differences in dogmatic theology and jealousies between the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, each of whom claimed primacy in the church, had been drawing the two sections of Christendom apart since the division of the Roman empire was begun. The rupture was made complete in 1054, by the failure of an effort on the part of the eastern emperor to heal it. He induced Pope Leo IX. to send three legates to Constantinople, with power to arrange agreements; but the haughty tone of the legates made their mission abortive, and it ended in their launching an anathema at the eastern primate

Com-
munion
broken
between
eastern and
western
churches,
A. D. 1054

and all his adherents. Communion between the eastern and western churches was then broken off, and their antagonism became intensified by the dislikes that were engendered between eastern and western Christians during the ensuing crusades.

Differences
between the
churches

The doctrines and practices of the Roman church which that of Constantinople condemned have been summarized as follows: "The followers of Rome deemed it proper to fast on the seventh day of the week—that is, on the Jewish Sabbath; in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese; they disapproved wholly of the marriage of priests; they thought none but bishops could anoint with the holy oil or confirm the baptized, and they therefore anointed a second time those who had been anointed by presbyters; and, fifthly, they had adulterated the Constantinopolitan creed by adding to it the words [clause] *Filioque*, thus teaching that the Holy Spirit did not proceed only from the Father, but also from the Son. This last was deemed, and has always been deemed by the Greek church, the great heresy of the Roman church. . . . The Greek church to-day in all its branches—in Turkey, Greece and Russia—professes to hold firmly by the formulas and decisions of the seven œcumenical or general councils, regarding with special honor that of Nice. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds are the symbols of its faith, the *Filioque* clause being omitted from the former, and the eighth article reading thus: 'And in the

Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, and with the Father and Son together is worshiped and glorified.’

. . . The Greek church, unlike the Latin, denounces the use of images as objects of devotion, and holds in abhorrence every form of what it terms ‘image worship;’ ” but “pictures of the plainest kind everywhere take their place and are regarded with the deepest veneration.”

Lees, *The Greek Church*, lect. 4

“If the missionary spirit is the best evidence of vitality in a church, it certainly was not wanting in the eastern church during the ninth and tenth centuries of our era. This period witnessed the conversion to Christianity of the principal Slavonic peoples, whereby they are both linked with Constantinople and bound together by those associations of creed as well as race, which form so important a factor in the European politics of the present day. The Moravians, the Bulgarians, and the Russians, were now brought within the fold of the church; and the way was prepared for that vast extension of the Greek communion by which it has spread, not only through the Balkan peninsula and the lands to the north of it, but wherever Russian influence is found.”

The Greek church and the Slavic peoples

Tozer, *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, 132

The Holy Roman Empire

The emperor Henry IV., who outlived his struggle with Pope Gregory VII., was beaten down at last—dethroned by a graceless son, excommunicated by a relentless church and denied burial by its clergy when he died. The

A.D. 1106

A. D. 1125

rebellious son, Henry V., in his turn fought the same battle over for ten years, and forced a compromise which saved about half the rights of investiture that his father had claimed. His death ended the Franconian line, and the imperial crown returned for a few years to the house of Saxony, by the election of the duke Lothaire. But the estates of the Franconian family had passed, through his mother, to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia; and now a bitter feud arose between the house of Saxony and the house of Hohenstaufen or Swabia,—a feud that was the most memorable and the longest lasting in history, if it is measured by the duration of the party strifes which began in it and which took their names from it. For the raging factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines, which divided Italy for two centuries, had their beginning among the Germans, in this Swabian-Saxon feud.

Guelfs and
GhibellinesWelfs and
Waibling-
ens

A. D. 1138

The partisans of the house of Saxony were known as Welfs; those of the Hohenstaufens were called Waiblingens. In Italy, the term Welf became Guelf, and Waiblingen was transformed to Ghibelline by the Italian tongue. The Hohenstaufens triumphed when Lothaire died, and Conrad of their house was crowned. They held the crown, moreover, in their family for four generations, extending through more than a century; and so it happened that the name of the German party of the Hohenstaufens came to be identified with the party or faction in Italy which supported imperial interests and claims in the

free cities, against the popes. Whereupon the opposed party name was borrowed from Germany likewise, and applied to the Italian faction which took ground against the emperors—though these Italian Guelfs had no objects in common with the partisans of Saxony—the German Welfs.

The first Hohenstaufen emperor was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick I., called Barbarossa, because of his red beard. The long reign of Frederick, until 1190, was mainly filled with wars and contentions in Italy, where he pushed the old quarrel of the empire with the papacy, and where, furthermore, he undertook to check the growing independence of the Lombard cities. Five times during his reign he led a great army into the peninsula, like a hostile invader, and his destroying marches through the country, of which he claimed to be sovereign, were like those of the barbarians who came out of the north seven centuries before. The more powerful cities, like Milan, were oppressing their weaker neighbors, and Barbarossa assumed to be the champion of the latter. But he smote impartially the weak and the strong, the village and the town, which provoked his arrogant temper in the slightest degree.

Milan escaped his wrath on the first visitation, but went down before it when he came again, and was totally destroyed, the inhabitants being scattered in other towns. Even the enemies of Milan were moved to compassion by the savageness of this punishment, and joined, a few years

The Hohenstaufens in Italy

Balzani,
The Popes and the Hohenstaufen

Invasions of Frederick Barbarossa
A. D. 1154-1176

Destruction of Milan,
A. D. 1158

League of
Lombardy

later, in rebuilding the prostrate walls and founding Milan anew. A great "League of Lombardy" was formed by all the northern towns, to defend their freedom against the hated emperor, and the party of the Ghibellines was reduced for the time to a feeble minority.

Battle of
Legnano
A. D. 1176

Meantime Barbarossa had forced his way into Rome, stormed the very Church of St. Peter, and seated an anti-pope on the throne. But a sudden pestilence fell upon his army, and he fled before it, out of Italy, almost alone. Yet he never relaxed his determination to bend both the papacy and the Lombard republics to his will. After seven years he returned, for the fifth time, and it proved to be the last. The league met him at Legnano and administered to him an overwhelming defeat. Even his obstinacy was then overcome, and after a truce of six years he made peace with the league and the pope, on terms which conceded most of the liberties that the cities claimed. It was in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa that the name "Holy Roman Empire" began, it seems, to be used.

A. D. 1190

A. D. 1197

The king-
dom of
Sicily

Frederick Barbarossa died while on a crusade, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VI., who had married the daughter and heiress of the king of Sicily, and who acquired that kingdom in her right. His short reign was occupied mostly in subduing the Sicilian possession. When he died his son Frederick was a child. This son, Frederick II., succeeded to the crown of Sicily, but his rights in Germany (where his father had caused

him to be crowned "king of the Romans"—the step preliminary to an imperial election) were ignored. The German crown was disputed between a Swabian and a Saxon claimant, and the Saxon, Otho, was king and emperor in name, until 1218, when he died. But he, too, quarreled with a pope, about the lands of the countess Matilda, of Tuscany, which she gave to the church; and his quarrel was with Innocent III., a pope who realized the autocracy which Hildebrand had looked forward to, and who lifted the papacy to the greatest height of power it ever attained.

Pope Innocent III.

To cast down Otho, Innocent took up the cause of Frederick, who received the royal crown a second time, at Aix-la-Chapelle and the imperial crown at Rome. Frederick II. (his designation) was one of the few men of genius who have sprung from the sovereign families of the world; a man far in advance of his time. Between such an emperor as this Frederick and such popes as Innocent III. and his immediate successors, there could not fail to be collision and strife. The man who might, in other circumstances, have given some quicker movement to the hands that measure human progress on the dial of time, spent his life in barely proving his ability to live and reign under the anathemas and proscriptions of the church. But he fought a losing fight, even when he seemed to be winning victories in northern Italy, over the Guelf cities of Lombardy, and when the party of the Ghibellines, in all parts of

Frederick II., A. D. 1197-1250

Kington, *History of Frederick the Second*

the peninsula, appeared to be growing strong.

End of the
Hohenstaufens

The death of Frederick II. was the end of the Hohenstaufens as an imperial family. His son, Conrad, who survived him four years, was king of Sicily and had been crowned king of Germany; but he never wore the crown imperial. Conrad's illegitimate brother, Manfred, succeeded on the Sicilian throne; but the implacable papacy gave his kingdom to Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis IX. of France, and invited a crusade for the conquest of it. Manfred was slain in battle, Conrad's young son, Conradin, perished on the scaffold, and the Hohenstaufens disappeared from history. Their rights, or claims, in Sicily and Naples, passed to the Spanish house of Aragon, by the marriage of Manfred's daughter to the Aragonese king; whence long strife between the house of Anjou and the house of Aragon, and a troubled history for the Neapolitans and the Sicilians during some hundreds of years. In the end, Anjou kept Naples, while Aragon won Sicily; the kings in both lines called themselves Kings of Sicily, and a subsequent reunion of the two crowns created a very queerly named "Kingdom of the two Sicilies."

Aragon
against
Anjou

"Kingdom
of the two
Sicilies"

Germany and the Empire

After the death of Frederick II., the German kings, while maintaining the imperial title, abandoned their serious attempts to enforce an actual sovereignty in Italy. The Holy Roman empire, as comprehending more than Germany,

now ceased in reality to exist. The name lived on, but only to represent a flattering fiction for magnifying the rank and importance of the German kings. In Italy, the conflict, as between papacy and empire, or between Lombard republican cities and empire, was at an end. No further occasion existed for an imperial party, or an anti-imperial party. The Guelf and Ghibelline divisions and names had no more the little meaning that first belonged to them. But Guelfs and Ghibellines raged against one another more furiously than before, and generations passed before their feud died out.

While the long Italian conflict of the emperors went on, their kingship in Germany had been weakened. As they grasped at a shadowy imperial title, the substance of royal authority slipped from them. Their frequent absences in Italy gave enlarged independence to the German princes and feudal lords; their difficulties beyond the Alps forced them to buy support from their vassals at home by fatal concessions and grants; their neglect of German affairs weakened the ties of loyalty, and provoked revolts. The result might have been a dissolution of Germany, so complete as to give rise to two or three strong states, if another potent influence had not worked injury in a different way. This came from the custom of equalized inheritance that prevailed. The law of primogeniture, which governed the hereditary transmission of territorial sovereignty in many countries, even where it did not, as in

Weakening
of German
kingship

Germany
divided
into petty
principa-
lities

Pütter, *His-
torical de-
velopment
of the pres-
ent* [1786]
*Political
Constitu-
tion of
Germany*,
I : 194-7

England, give an undivided private estate to the eldest son of a family, got footing in Germany very slowly and very late. At the time now described, it was the common practice to divide principalities between the sons surviving a deceased margrave or duke. It was this practice which gave rise to the astonishing number of petty states into which Germany came to be divided, and the forms of which are still intact. It was this, in the main, which prevented the growth of any states to a power that would absorb the rest. On the other hand, the half fictitious constitution which the empire substituted for what the kingdom of Germany would naturally have grown into, made an effective centralization of sovereignty quite impossible.

German
free cities

One happy consequence of this state of things was the enfranchisement, either wholly or nearly so, of many thriving cities. The growth of cities, as centers of industry and commerce, and the development of municipal freedom among them, was later in Germany than in Italy, France and the Netherlands; but the independence gained by some among them was more lasting than in Italy and more entire than in the Low Countries or in France.

Most of the free cities of Germany were directly or immediately subject to the emperor, and wholly independent of the princes whose territories surrounded them; whence they were called "imperial cities." This relationship bound them to the empire by strong ties; they had less to fear

from it than from the nearer small potentates of their country; and probably it drew a considerable part of such strength as it possessed, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from their support. Their own power was augmented at this period by the formation of extensive leagues, for common defense, and for the protection, regulation and extension of their trade. In that age of lawless violence, there was so little force in government, and so entire a want of coöperation between governments, that the operations of trade were exposed to piracy, robbery, and blackmail, on every sea and in every land. By the organization of their leagues, the energetic merchants of northwestern Europe did for themselves what their half-civilized governments failed to do. They not only created effective agencies for the protection of their trade, but they legislated, nationally and internationally, for themselves, establishing codes and regulations, negotiating commercial treaties, making war, and exercising many functions and powers that seem strange to modern times.

Leagues
among the
free cities

Political
functions of
the leagues

The great Hansa, or Hanseatic League, which rose to importance in the thirteenth century among the cities in the north of Germany, was the most extensive, the longest lasting and the most formidable of these confederations. It controlled the trade between Germany, England, Russia, the Scandinavian countries, and the Netherlands, and through the latter it made exchanges with southern Europe and the east.

The great
"Hanseatic
League"

Zimmern,
*The Hansa
Towns*

It waged successful war with Denmark, Sweden and Norway combined, in defiance of the opposition of the emperor and the pope. But the growth of its power engendered arrogance and provoked enmity in all countries, while the slow crystallizing of nationalities in Europe, with national sentiments and ambitions, worked in all directions against the commercial monopoly of the Hansa towns. By the end of the fifteenth century their league had begun to break up and its power to decline. The lesser associations of similar character—such as the Rhenish and the Swabian—had been shorter-lived.

The
electors
of the kings

These city-confederations represented in their time the only movement of concentration that appeared in Germany. Every other activity seemed tending toward dissolution. Headship there was none for a quarter of a century after Frederick II. died. The election of the kings, who took rank and title as emperors when crowned by the pope, had now become the exclusive privilege of three prince-bishops and four temporal princes, who acquired the title of electors. Jealous of one another, and of all the greater lords outside their electoral college, it was against their policy to confer the scepter on any man who seemed likely to wield it with a strong hand. For twenty years—a period in German history known as the “great interregnum”—they kept the throne practically vacant. Part of the electors were bribed to choose Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of the English

The “great
interreg-
num,” A.D.
1252-1273

king Henry III., and the other part gave their votes to Alfonso, king of Castile. Alfonso never came to be crowned, either as king or emperor; Richard was crowned king, but exercised no power and lived mostly in his own country. The empire was virtually extinct; the kingdom hardly less so. Burgundy fell away from the imperial jurisdiction even more than Italy did. Considerable parts of it passed to France.

At last, in 1273, the interregnum was ended by the election of a German noble to be king of Germany. This was Rodolph, count of Hapsburg,—lord of a small domain and of little importance from his own possessions, which explains, without doubt, his selection. But Rodolph proved to be a vigorous king, and he founded a family of such lasting stamina and such self-seeking capability that eventually it secured permanent possession of the German crown, and acquired, outside of Germany, a great dominion of its own. He began the aggrandizement of his house by taking the fine duchy of Austria from the kingdom of Bohemia and bestowing it upon his sons. He was energetic in improving opportunities like this, and energetic, too, in destroying the castles of robber-knights and hanging the robbers on their own battlements; but of substantial authority or power he had little enough. He never went to Rome for the imperial crown; nor troubled himself much with Italian affairs.

On Rodolph's death, his son Albert of Austria was a candidate for the crown. The electors

Election of
Rodolph of
Hapsburg,
A. D. 1273

The
Hapsburg
acquisition
of Austria,
A. D. 1282

A. D. 1291

rejected him and elected another poor noble, Adolphus of Nassau; but Adolphus displeased them after a few years, and they decreed his deposition, electing Albert in his place. War followed and Adolphus was killed. Albert's reign was one of vigor, but he accomplished little of permanent effect. He planted one of his sons on the throne of Bohemia, where the reigning family had become extinct; but the new king died in a few months, much hated, and the Bohemians resisted an Austrian successor. Albert was assassinated, and the electors raised Count Henry of Luxemburg to the throne as Henry VII.

A. D. 1308

Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence

Venice was raised to a great power by the crusading conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Even before that time, the island republic had left all maritime rivals except Pisa and Genoa behind. It dominated the Adriatic, controlled most of the eastern coast of that sea, and held the best positions in the Levant; but one important advantage belonged to the Genoese and Pisans, in their enjoyment of the favor of the eastern empire, between which and the Venetians bitter jealousies and hostilities had grown up. By their crafty and treacherous stroke of policy in 1204 the Venetians swept that advantage out of their rivals' hands. Having contracted with the crusaders to furnish shipping and supplies for an expedition against Egypt, they raised difficulties and contrived delays, after the great host had been brought to

The treacherous conquest of Constantinople, A.D. 1204

Venice, which paralyzed the project completely. Part of the assembled warriors went home in disgust, leaving the remainder in desperate circumstances, ready for any offering of employment to their swords. At the right moment Venice offered the employment, first in an expedition to take and plunder the Dalmatian city of Zara, a commercial rival on the Adriatic coast; then in an audacious assault on the rich and splendid capital of the declining empire of the Greeks. The temptation of such spoils as Constantinople might yield was more than the needy crusaders could resist. They followed the Venetian lead, to an exploit so foul in motive and so brutal in performance that it has very few parallels in the history of the world.

Along with the spoils of the great city, its captors divided the empire which it ruled, and Venice took the lion's share. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was given the imperial throne, but received only a fourth of his Greek predecessor's domain; while Venice obtained a fourth and an eighth. Thenceforth its doges or dukes bore the singular title of "Lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman Empire." In addition to its share in the partitioning, the republic purchased Crete and Salonica, and was established on a footing that controlled the Ægean and Byzantine trade. At the same time, it had contrived to be on good terms with the Moslem rulers of Egypt, who favored it in commerce at Alexandria; and, indeed, there are grounds for suspecting that the

Eastern dominion of Venice

Commerce with Alexandria

frustration of the crusade aimed at Egypt, in 1204, was planned in fulfillment of a secret bargain with the caliph at Cairo.

For half a century the Venetians enjoyed the full advantages that came to them from the overthrow of the Byzantine Greeks. Then a Greek prince, with Genoese help, recovered Constantinople, suppressed the short-lived Latin empire, and transferred to Genoa the ascendancy that Venice had acquired, especially in the trade of the Black Sea. From that time, through more than a century, the two city-republics, Venice and Genoa, strove with each other for maritime supremacy, on nearly equal terms. Pisa was a third in the contest, but mainly as the rival of Genoa, until her naval strength was broken by the latter, beyond recovery, in 1284. Fourteen years later, the Genoese brought Venice close to ruin by a crushing defeat inflicted at Curzola, on the Dalmatian coast, and their power was the greatest in the Mediterranean for nearly a century from that time. But the indomitable Venetians beat them down in the end.

Wars of
Venice,
Genoa, and
Pisa

The endurance and the final triumph of the Venetian republic (so-called) in these struggles was due, without doubt, to the steady concentration of its government in a few hands. It began with a very simple democratic constitution. Late in the seventh century an elective chief magistrate, the doge, was created; in the eleventh century a council, named by the doge, was associated with him, and this became in time the

The Venetian government

Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic* (new ed.) ch. ii, x, xix

Venetian senate. In the twelfth century a "great council" of four hundred and eighty members was formed, which stole away most of the important functions of the "general assembly" of the people, still supposed to exist. Before the end of the next century this "great council" closed its doors against any new-comers from outside of the families that had furnished members to it in the past. A dominating aristocracy, founded on wealth, thus bore down the common people and took all the powers of government into their hands. Rapidly thereafter the actual exercise of power was centered more and more in a few hands, and secreted more and more; until the dread "council of ten" became commissioned to "protect the public safety," with hardly a limit to the means it might employ. The resulting government was an awful absolutism, calling itself republican; but it had an efficiency which democratic republics have not yet become able to match.

From democracy to aristocracy

Absolutism of the "council of ten," A. D. 1210

Of all the Italian city-republics Florence is the most interesting, and the most important historically—even when compared with Venice—because it produced most of the electrifying genius that was beginning in this remarkable age to kindle new lights in the world. And yet, for two or three centuries of its republican history, the annals of Florence are naught, one thinks in reading them, but an unbroken tale of strife within or war without—of tumult, riot, disorder, revolution. But underneath all that superficial

Florence and Florentine genius

Strangely mixed elements of Florentine life

storminess in the Florentine life, there is an amazing story to be found, of thrift, industry, commerce, prosperity, wealth, on one side, and of inspired genius on the other, giving itself, in pure devotion, to poetry and art. The contradiction of circumstances seems irreconcilable to our modern experience, and we have to seek an explanation of it in the very different conditions of mediæval life.

War of
factions

Through all political changes in Florence there ran an unending war of factions, the bitterest and most inveterate in history. The control of the city belonged naturally to the Guelfs, for it was the head and front of the Guelfic party in Italy. "Without Florence," says one historian, "there would have been no Guelfs." But neither party scrupled to call armed help from the outside into its quarrels, and the Ghibellines were able, nearly as often as the Guelfs, to drive their opponents from the city. For the ascendancy of one faction meant commonly the flight or expulsion of every man in the other who had importance enough to be noticed. It was thus that Dante, an ardent Ghibelline, became an exile from his beloved Florence during the last nineteen years of his life. But the strife of Guelfs with Ghibellines did not suffice for the partisan rancor of the Florentines, and they complicated it with another split of factions, which bore the names of the Bianchi and the Neri, or the Whites and the Blacks.

Exile of
Dante,
A. D. 1302-
1321

The Florentine republic not only preserved its independence under popular institutions the

longest, but carried them to the most radical extreme. For a period that began in the later part of the thirteenth century, the government of Florence was so radically democratic that the nobles (*grandi*) were made ineligible to office, and could only qualify themselves for election to any place in the magistracy by abandoning their order and engaging in the labor of some craft or art. The avocations of skilled industry were all organized in guilds, called *arti*, and were divided into two classes, one representing what were recognized as the superior arts (*arti majori*, embracing professional and mercantile callings, with some others); the other including the commoner industries, known as the *arti minori*. From the heads, or priors, of the *arti* were chosen a signory, changed every two months, which was intrusted with the government of the republic. This popular constitution was maintained in its essential features through the better part of a century, but with increasing resistance and disturbance from the excluded nobles, on one side, and from the working people of the lower occupations, on the other, who claimed an enlargement of their share of political power. Between these two upper and lower discontents, the bourgeois constitution gave way at last.

Radical ,
democracy
of Florence

The *arti*,
majori and
minori

The popu-
lar consti-
tution

The Kingdom of France

While Germany and the fictitious empire linked with it were dropping into the background, several kingdoms in western Europe were emerg-

Louis VI.,
A. D. 1108-
1137

Smallness
of the
actual
kingdom

ing out of the anarchy of feudalism, and acquiring the organization of authority and law which creates stable and substantial power. France for a century, under the first three Capetian kings, had made little progress to that end. At the accession of the fourth of those kings, namely, Louis VI., it is estimated that the actual possessions of the crown, over which it exercised sovereignty direct, equaled no more than about five of the modern departments of France; while twenty-nine of those departments were in the great fiefs of Flanders, Burgundy, Champagne, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Vermandois, and Boulogne, where the royal authority was but nominal; thirty-three, south of the Loire, were hardly connected with the crown, and twenty-one were imperial fiefs. The actual "France," as a kingdom, at that time, was very small. The real domain of Louis VI. was almost confined to the five towns of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Melun, and Compiègne, and to estates in their neighborhood. But the strengthening of the crown was begun slightly in the reign of this king, by his wise policy of encouraging the enfranchisement of the communes, as noted before. This introduced a helpful alliance between the monarchy and the burgher-class, or third estate, as it came to be called, of the cities, against the feudal aristocracy.

But progress in that direction was slight at first and slowly made. Louis VII., who came to the throne in 1137, acquired momentarily the great duchy of Aquitaine, or Guienne, by his marriage

with Eleanor, who inherited it; but he divorced her, and she married Henry Plantagenet, who became Henry II., king of England, being at the same time duke of Normandy, by inheritance from his mother, and successor to his father in Anjou, Maine and Touraine. Eleanor having carried to him the great Aquitanian domain of her family, he was sovereign of a larger part of modern France than owned allegiance to the French king.

French
dominions
of the Eng-
lish king

But the next king in France, Philip, called Augustus, who was the son of Louis VII., wrought a change of these circumstances. He was a prince of remarkable vigor, and he rallied with rare ability all the forces that the crown could command. He wrested Vermandois from the count of Flanders, and extorted submission from the rebellious duke of Burgundy. Suspending his projects at home for a time, to go crusading to the Holy Land in company with King Richard of England, he resumed them with fresh energy after Richard's death. The latter was succeeded by his mean brother John. As duke of Normandy and Anjou, John, though king of England, was nevertheless a vassal of the king of France. Philip summoned him for trial by his peers, on the charge of having murdered his young nephew, Arthur of Brittany. John failed to answer the summons, and the forfeiture of his fiefs was declared. The French king stood well prepared to make the confiscation effective, while John, in serious trouble with his English subjects, could

Philip
Augustus,
A. D. 1180-
1223

Hutton,
*Philip
Augustus*

French
recovery of
Normandy
and Anjou

hardly resist. Thus the Norman realm of the English kings—their original dominion—was lost beyond recovery, and with it Anjou and Maine. They held Guienne and Poitou for some years; but the bases of the French monarchy were broadened immensely from the day when the great Norman and Angevin fiefs became part of its royal domain.

The Albi-
genses

Events in the south of France, during Philip's reign, prepared the way for a further aggrandizement of the crown. Ancient Latin civilization had lingered longer there, in spirit, at least, than in the central and northern districts of the kingdom, and the state of society was more refined. It was the region of Europe where thought first showed signs of independence, and where the spiritual despotism of Rome was disputed first. A sect arose in Languedoc which took its name from the district of Albi, and which offended the church perhaps more by the freedom of opinion that it claimed than by the heresy of the opinions themselves.

Crusade
against the
Albigenses,
A. D. 1209-
1229

These Albigeois, or Albigenses, had been at issue with the clergy of their country and with the papacy for some years before Innocent III., the pontifical autocrat of his age, proclaimed a crusade against them, and launched his sentence of excommunication against Raymond, count of Toulouse, who gave them countenance, if not more. The fanatical Simon de Montfort (father of a great noble of like name who figures more grandly in English history) took the lead of the

crusade, to which bigots and adventurers flocked together. Languedoc was wasted with fire and sword, and, after twenty years of intermittent war, in which Peter of Aragon took part, assisting the Albigeois, the count of Toulouse purchased peace for his ruined land by ceding part of it to the king of France. Moreover, he gave his daughter in marriage to the king's brother Alphonso, by which marriage the remainder of the country was transferred, a few years later, to the French crown.

Philip Augustus, in whose reign this brutal crushing of Provençal France began, took little part in it, but he saw with no unwillingness another too powerful vassal brought low. The next blow of like kind he struck with his own hand. John of England had quarreled with the mighty pope Innocent III.; his kingdom had been placed under interdict and his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Philip of France offered eagerly to become the executor of the papal decree, and gathered an army for the invasion of England, to oust John from his throne. But John hastened now to make peace with the church, submitting himself, surrendering his kingdom to the pope, and receiving it back as a papal fief. This accomplished, the all-powerful pontiff persuaded the French king to turn his army against the count of Flanders, who seems to have become the recognized head of a body of nobles who showed alarm and resentment at the growing power of the crown.

Philip, John
and the
pope

A brief
clearing
storm of
war

Battle of
Bouvines,
A. D. 1214

Its many
consequen-
ces

The war that ensued was quite extraordinary in its political importance. King John of England came personally to the assistance of the Flemish count, because of the hatred he felt towards Philip of France. Otho, emperor of Germany, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the pope, and who was struggling for his crown with the young Hohenstaufen, Frederick II., took part in the *mêlée*, because John was his uncle, and because the pope was for Philip, and because Germany dreaded the rising power of France. So the war, which seemed at first to be a trifling affair in a corner, became in fact a grand clearing storm, for the settlement of many large issues, important to all Europe. The settlement was accomplished by a single decisive battle, fought at Bouvines, not far from Tournay. This battle established in France the feudal superiority and actual sovereignty of the king. It evoked a national spirit among the French people, having been their first national victory, won under the banners of a definite kingdom, over foreign foes. It was a triumph for the papacy and the church and a crushing blow to those who dared resist the mandates of Rome. It sent King John back to England so humbled and weakened that he had little stomach for the contest which awaited him there, and the grand event of the signing of Magna Carta next year was more easily brought about. It settled the fate of Otho of Germany, and cleared the bright opening of the stormy career of Frederick II., his successor. Thus the



ST. LOUIS ADMINISTERING JUSTICE

From a mural painting in the Pantheon, by Alexandre Cabanel (1823-1889)

battle of Bouvines, which is not a famous field in common knowledge, must really be numbered among the great and important battles of the world.

When Philip Augustus died, the regality which he bequeathed to his son, Louis VIII., was something vastly greater than he had received. He had enhanced both the dignity and the power, both the authority and the prestige, of the crown, and made a substantial kingdom of France. Louis VIII. enlarged his dominions by the conquest of lower Poitou and the taking of Rochelle from the English; but he sowed the seeds of future weakness in the monarchy by creating great duchies for his children, which became as troublesome to later kings as Normandy and Anjou had been to those before him.

Louis IX.—Saint Louis in the calendar of the Catholic church,—who came to the throne in 1226, while a child of eleven years, was a king of so noble a type that he stands nearly alone in history. Of all the kings of his line, this Saint Louis was probably the one who had least thought of a royal interest in France distinct from the interest of the people of France, and the one who consciously did least to aggrandize the monarchy and enlarge its powers; but no king before him or after him was so much the true architect of the foundations of the absolute French monarchy of later times. His constant purpose was to give peace to his kingdom and justice to his people; to end violence and wrong-doing. In pursuing

Louis VIII.,
A. D. 1223-
1226

Louis IX.
(Saint
Louis), A.D.
1226-1270

Joinville,
St. Louis

Guizot,
*St. Louis
and Calvin*

How he
strengthened the
monarchy

this purpose, he gave a new character and a new influence to the royal courts,—established them in public confidence,—accustomed his subjects to appeal to them; he denounced the brutal senselessness of trials by combat, and commanded their abolition; he gave encouragement to the study and the introduction of Roman law, and so helped to dispel the crude political as well as legal ideas that feudalism rested on. His measures in these directions all tended to the undermining of the feudal system and to the breaking down of the independence of the great vassals who divided sovereignty with the king. At the same time the upright soul of King Louis, devotedly pious son of the church as he was, yielded no more of his conscience to it, and no more of the just ordinances of his kingdom, than he yielded to the haughty turbulence of the great vassals of the crown.

His cru-
sades, A.D.
1248-1254,
and 1270

The misfortunes of the reign of Saint Louis were the two calamitous crusades in which he engaged, and in the last of which he died. They were futile in every way—as unwisely conducted as they were unwisely conceived; but they count among the few errors of a noble, great life. Regarded altogether, in the light which after-history throws back upon it, the reign of Louis IX. is more loftily distinguished than any other in the annals of France.

There is little to mark the reign of Saint Louis' son, Philip III., "le Hardi," "the Rash," though the remains of the great fief of Toulouse were

added in his time to the royal domain; but under the grandson of Saint Louis, the fourth Philip, surnamed "le Bel," there was a season of storms in France. This Philip was unquestionably a man of clear, cold intellect, and of powerful, unbending will. There was nothing of the soldier in him, much of the lawyer-like disposition and mind. The men of the gown were his counselors; he advanced their influence, and promoted the acceptance in France of the principles of the Roman or civil law, which were antagonistic to feudal ideas. In his attitude towards the papacy—which had declined greatly in character and power within the century past—he was extraordinarily bold. His famous quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. resulted in humiliations to the head of the church from which, in some respects, there was no recovery.

Philip IV.,
the Fair,
A. D. 1285-
1304

The quarrel arose on questions connected chiefly with the taxing of the clergy. The pope launched one angry "bull" after another against the audacious king, and the latter retorted with ordinances as effective as the bulls. Excommunication was defied; the Inquisition was suppressed in France; appeal taken to a general council of the church. At last Boniface suffered personal violence at the hands of a party of hired ruffians, in French pay, who attacked him at his country residence, and put such indignities upon him that he expired soon after of shame and rage.

Quarrel of
Philip IV.
with the
pope

The succeeding pope died a few months later, and dark suspicions as to the cause of his death

Babylonish
captivity of
the popes

were entertained; for he gave place to one, Clement V., who was the tool of the French king, bound to him by pledges and guarantees before his election. This Pope Clement removed the papal residence from Rome to Avignon, and for a long period—the period known as “the Babylonish Captivity”—the Holy See was subservient to the monarchy of France.

In his contest with the papacy, Philip threw himself on the support of the whole body of his people, convoking the first meeting of the Three Estates—the first of the few general parliaments—ever assembled in France until quite recent times.

Destruc-
tion of the
Templars,
A. D. 1307

A more sinister event in the reign of Philip IV. was his prosecution and destruction of the famous order of the Knights Templars. The dark, dramatic story has been told many times, and its incidents are familiar. Perhaps there will never be agreement as to the bottom of truth that might exist in the charges brought against the order; but few question the fact that its blackest guilt in the eyes of the French king was its wealth, which he coveted and which he was resolved to find reasons for taking to himself. The knights were accused of infidelity, blasphemy, and abominable vices. They were tried, tortured, tempted to confessions, burned at the stake, and their lands and goods were divided between the crown and the Knights of St. John.

Wood-
house, *The
Military-
Religious
Orders*,
ch. v-vii

The willful king had little mercy in his cold heart and few scruples in his calculating brain.

His character was not admirable; but the ends which he compassed were mostly good for the strength and independence of the monarchy of France, and, on the whole, for the welfare of the people subject to it. Even the disasters of his reign had sometimes their good effect: as in the case of his failure to subjugate the great county of Flanders. Originally a fief of the kings of France, it had been growing apart from the French monarchy, through the independent interests and feelings that rose in it, with the increase of wealth among its singularly industrious and thrifty people.

The Low Countries, or Netherlands, on both sides of the Rhine, had been the first in western Europe to develop industrial arts and the trade that goes with them, in a thoroughly intelligent and systematic way. The Flemings were leaders in this industrial development. Their country was full of busy cities,—communes, with large liberties in possession,—where prosperous artisans, pursuing many crafts, were organized in guilds and felt strong for the defense of their chartered rights. Ghent exceeded Paris in riches and population at the end of the thirteenth century. Bruges was nearly its equal; and there were many of less note. The country was a prize to be coveted by kings; and the kings of France, who claimed the rights of feudal superiority over its count, had long been seeking to make their sovereignty direct, while the spirit of the Flemings carried them more and more toward independence.

In 1294, Philip IV. became involved in war with Edward I. of England over Guienne. Flanders, which traded largely with England and was in close friendship with the English king and people, took sides with the latter, and was basely abandoned when Philip and Edward made peace. The French king then seized his opportunity to subjugate the Flemings, which he accomplished for a time, mastering all of their cities except Ghent. His need and his greed made the burden of taxes which he now laid on these new subjects very heavy and they were soon in revolt. By accident, and the folly of the French, they won a fearfully decisive victory at Courtray, where some thousands of the nobles and knights of France charged blindly into a canal, and were drowned, suffocated and slaughtered in heaps. The carnage was so great that it broke the strength of the feudal chivalry of France, and the French crown, while it lost Flanders, yet gained power from the very disaster.

Revolt of
the Flem-
ings

Battle of
Courtray,
A. D. 1302

England under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings

When William the Conqueror died his eldest son Robert succeeded him in Normandy, but he wished the crown of England to go to his son William, called Rufus, or "the Red." He could not settle the succession by his will, because in theory the succession was subject to the choice or assent of the nobles of the realm. But, in fact, William Rufus became king through mere tardiness of opposition; and when, a few months after

William
Rufus, A.D.
1087-1100

his coronation, a formidable rebellion broke out among the Normans in England, who preferred his wayward brother Robert, it was the native English who sustained him and established him on the throne. The same thing occurred again after William Rufus died. The Norman English tried again to bring in Duke Robert, while the native English preferred the younger brother, Henry, who was born among them. They won the day. Henry I., called Beauclerc, or the Scholar, was seated on the throne. Unlike William Rufus, who had no gratitude for the support the English gave him, and ruled them harshly, Henry showed favor to his English subjects, and, during his reign of thirty-five years, the two races were reconciled and drawn together so effectually that little distinction between them appears thereafter.

Henry I.,
A. D. 1100.
1135

Henry acquired Normandy, as well as England, uniting again the two sovereignties of his father. His thriftless brother Robert had pledged the dukedom to William Rufus, who lent him money for a crusading expedition. Returning penniless, Robert tried to recover his heritage; but Henry claimed it and made good the claim.

Normandy
reunited
with Eng-
land

At Henry's death, the succession fell into dispute. He had lost his only son. His daughter, Matilda, married first to the emperor Henry V., had wedded subsequently Count Geoffrey of Anjou, by whom she had a son. Henry strove, during his life, to bind his nobles by oath to accept Matilda and her son as his successors; but their

Stephen
A. D. 1135-
1154

Civil war
and
anarchy

Stubbs,
*The Early
Plantagenets*, 26

promises were broken when he died. They gave the crown to Stephen of Blois, whose mother was Henry's sister; whereupon there ensued the most dreadful period of civil war and anarchy that England ever knew. Stephen, at his coronation, swore to promises which he did not keep, losing many of his supporters for that reason; the empress Matilda and her young son Henry had numerous partisans; and each side was able to destroy the authority of the other. "The price of the support given to both was the same—absolute license to build castles, to practice private war, to hang their private enemies, to plunder their neighbors, to coin their money, to exercise their petty tyrannies as they pleased." "Castles innumerable sprang up, and as fast as they were built they were filled with devils; each lord judged and taxed and coined. The feudal spirit of disintegration had for once its full play. Even party union was at an end, and every baron fought on his own behalf. Feudalism had its day, and the completeness of its triumph insured its fall."

A. D. 1153

Angevin or
Plantagenet
kings

At length peace was made by a treaty which left Stephen in possession of the throne during his life, but made Henry, already recognized as duke of Normandy, his heir. Stephen died the following year, and Henry II., now twenty-one years old, came quietly into his kingdom, beginning a new royal line, called the Angevin kings, because of their descent from Geoffrey of Anjou; also taking the name of Plantagenets from Geoffrey's

fashion of wearing a bit of broom, *planta genista*, in his hat.

Henry II. proved to be a king of the strong character that was needed in the England of that wretched time. He was bold and energetic, yet sagacious, prudent, politic. He loved power and he used it with an unsparing hand; but he used it with wise judgment, and England was the better for what he did. He struck hard and persistently at the lawlessness of feudalism, and ended it forever as a menace to order and unity of government in England. He destroyed hundreds of the castles which had sprung up throughout the land in Stephen's time, to be nests of robbers and strongholds of revolt. He humbled the turbulent barons. He did in England, for the promotion of justice, and for the enforcement of the royal authority, what Louis IX. did a little later in France: that is, he reorganized and strengthened the king's courts, creating a judicial system which, in its most essential features, has existed to the present time.

The organizing hand of Henry II. brought system and efficiency into every department of the government. He demanded of the church that its clergy should be subject to the common laws of the kingdom, in matters of crime, and to trial before the ordinary courts; and it was this most just reform of a crying abuse—the exemption of clerics from the jurisdiction of secular courts—which brought about the memorable collision of King Henry with Thomas Becket, the

Henry II.,
A. D. 1154-
1189

Stubbs,
*The Early
Plantage-
nets*,
ch. iii-v

Mrs. Green,
*Henry the
Second*

His lasting
work

The king
and arch-
bishop
Becket

Murder of
Becket,
A. D. 1170

inflexible archbishop of Canterbury. Becket was slain in Canterbury cathedral by four knights who supposed they were carrying out the wishes of the king. His tragical death made a martyr of him, and placed Henry in a penitential position which checked his great works of reform; but, on the whole, the reign of Henry II. was one of splendid success, and shines among the epochs that throw light on the great after-career of the English nation.

Henry's
dominions
in France

Aside from his importance as an English statesman, Henry II. figured largely among the most powerful of the monarchs of his time. His dominions on the continent embraced much more of the territory of modern France than was ruled directly by the contemporary French king, though nominally he held them as a vassal of the latter. Normandy came to him from his grandfather; from his father he inherited the large possessions of the house of Anjou; by his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine (divorced by Louis VII. of France, as mentioned already) he acquired her wide and rich domain. On the continent, therefore, he ruled Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Guienne, Poitou and Gascony. He may be said to have added Ireland to his English kingdom, for the conquest was begun in his reign. He held a great place in his century, and historically he is a notable figure in the time.

Richard,
Cœur de
Lion, A. D.
1189-1199

His rebellious, undutiful son Richard, Cœur de Lion, the crusader, the hard fighter, the knight of many rude adventures, who succeeded Henry II.

in 1189, is better known than he; but Richard's noisy, brief career shows poorly when compared with his father's life of thoughtful statesmanship. It does not show meanly, however, like that of the younger son, John, who came to the throne in 1199. A little of the story of John's probable murder of his young nephew, Arthur, of Brittany, and of his consequent loss of all the Angevin lands, and of Normandy (excepting only the Norman islands, the Jerseys, which have remained English to our own day) has been told briefly heretofore, when the reign of Philip Augustus of France was under review.

John, A. D.
1199-1216

(See pages
477-480)

The whole reign of John was ignominious. He quarreled with the pope (with the inflexible Innocent III., who humbled many kings) over a nomination to the archbishopric of Canterbury; his kingdom was put under interdict; he was threatened with deposition; and when, in affright, he surrendered, it was done so abjectly that he swore fealty to the pope as a vassal, consenting to hold his kingdom as a fief of the apostolic see.

A. D. 1208

England a
papal fief

The triumph of the papacy in this dispute brought one great good to England. It made Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury, and thereby gave a wise and righteous leader to the opponents of the king's oppressive rule. Lords and commons, laity and clergy, were all alike sufferers from John's greed, his perfidy, his mean devices and his contempt of law. Langton rallied them to a sober, stern, united demonstration,

Archbishop
Stephen
Langton

which awed King John, and compelled him to put his seal to Magna Carta, the grand charter of English liberties and political rights.

The Great Charter (signed at Runnymede on the 15th of June, 1215) provided, says Bishop Stubbs, "that the Commons of the realm should have the benefit of every advantage which the two elder estates had won for themselves, and it bound the barons to treat their dependents as it bound the king to treat the barons. Of its sixty-three articles, some provided securities for personal freedom; no man was to be taken, imprisoned, or damaged in person or estate, but by the judgment of his peers and by the law of the land. Others fixed the rate of payments due by the vassal to his lord. Others presented rules for national taxation and for the organization of a national council, without the consent of which the king could not tax. Others decreed the banishment of the alien servants of John. Although it is not the foundation of English liberty, it is the first, the clearest, the most united, and historically the most important of the great enunciations of it."

Most of the other peoples in Europe, as a German historian has remarked, obtained from their rulers, at some time in their history, agreements of the nature of the English Magna Carta, but allowed them to become a dead letter. The English never suffered their charter to be forgotten, but kept it in force by confirmations, which, first and last, were repeated no less than thirty-eight times.

Magna
Carta,
A. D. 1215

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference,*
2: England
(full text of
charter)

Stubbs,
*The Early
Plantage-
nets, 149
Constitu-
tional
History of
England*
ch. xiv

Gneist,
*Const.
History of
England,*
1: 311

A few weeks after signing the great charter John tried to annul it, with authority from the pope. Then certain of the barons, in their rage, offered the English crown to the heir of France, afterwards Louis VIII.; and the French prince came to England with an army to secure it. But, before the forces gathered were brought to any decisive battle, John died. Louis' partisans then dropped away from him and the next year, after a defeat at sea, he returned to France.

John left a son, a lad of nine years, who grew to be a better man than himself, though not a good king, for he was untruthful and weak. He held the throne for fifty-six years, during which long time, after his minority was passed, no minister of ability and honorable character could get and keep office in his service. He was jealous of ministers, preferring mere administrative clerks, but was docile to favorites, and picked them for the most part from a swarm of foreign adventurers whom the nation detested. The great charter of his father had been reaffirmed in his name, soon after he received the crown, and in 1225 he was required to issue it a third time, as the condition of a grant of money; but he would not rule honestly in compliance with its provisions, and sought continually to lay and collect taxes in unlawful ways.

He spent money extravagantly, and was foolish and reckless in foreign undertakings, accepting, for example, the kingdom of Sicily, offered to his son Edmund by the pope, whose gift required to

Henry III.,
A. D. 1216-
1272

His misgov-
ernment

Follies of
Henry III.

be made good by force of arms. At the same time he was servile to the popes, whose increasing demands for money from England were rousing even the clergy to resist. So the causes of discontent grew abundantly until they brought it to a serious head. All classes of the people were drawn together again, as they had been to resist the aggressions of John. The great councils of the kingdom, or assemblies of barons and bishops (which had taken the place of the witenagemot of the old English time, and which now began to be called parliaments), became more and more united against the king.

Great coun-
cils begin to
be called
parlia-
ments

At last the discontent found a leader of high capacity, and of heroic if not blameless character, in Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. Simon de Montfort was of foreign birth,—son of that fanatical crusader, of the same name, who spread ruin over the fair country of the Albigeois. The English earldom of Leicester had passed to his family, and the younger Simon, receiving it, came to England and became an Englishman. After some years he threw himself into the struggle with the crown, and was given the lead. In 1258, a parliament held at London compelled the king to consent to the appointment of an extraordinary commission of twenty-four barons, clothed with large powers. The commission was named at a subsequent meeting of parliament, the same year, at Oxford, where the grievances to be redressed were set forth in a paper known as the Provisions of Oxford. From the twenty-four commissioners

Public
discontent

Simon de
Montfort,
its leader

Provisions
of Oxford,
A. D. 1258

there were chosen fifteen to be the king's council. This was really the creation of a new constitution for the kingdom, and Henry swore to observe it. But after a little he procured a bull from the pope, absolving him from his oath, and began to prepare for throwing off the restraints put upon him. The other side took up arms, under Simon's lead; but peace was preserved for a time by referring all questions in dispute to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France. The arbiter decided against the barons, and Montfort's party refused to abide by the award. Then followed the civil conflict known as the Barons' War. The king was defeated and taken prisoner, and was obliged to submit to conditions which transferred the administration of the government to three counselors, of whom Simon de Montfort was the chief.

The
Barons'
War, A. D.
1264-1265

In January, 1265, a memorable parliament was called together. It was the first national assembly into which the larger element of the English commons came; for Montfort had summoned to it certain representatives of towns, along with the barons, the bishops and the abbots, and along, moreover, with representative knights, who had been gaining admittance of late years to what now became a convocation of the three estates. The parliamentary model thus shaped by the great earl of Leicester was not followed continuously until the next generation; but it is his glory, nevertheless, to have given to England the norm and principle on which its unexampled

Simon de
Montfort's
parliament,
A. D. 1265

A. D. 1265

parliament was framed. By dissensions among themselves, Simon de Montfort and his party soon lost the great advantage they had won, and, on another appeal to arms, they were defeated by the king's valiant and able son, afterwards King Edward I., and Montfort was slain.

Edward I.,
A. D. 1272-
1307

Tout,
*Edward the
First*

Stubbs,
*The Early
Plantage-
nets*, ch. x-xi

Henry III. died while his son Edward was absent from England, leading a small force on the last crusade which went from Europe to assist the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers in their struggle with the Moslems for the Holy Land. The expedition accomplished nothing, but detained Edward for some time from his throne. When he came to it he proved to be one of the few statesmen-kings of England, and even large enough in mind to take lessons from the vanquished enemies of the crown. He took up the half-planned constitutional work of Simon de Montfort, in the development of the English parliament, as a body representative of all orders in the nation, and made it complete. He came to this, however, somewhat late in his reign.

Develop-
ment of
parliament
under
Edward I.

"For more than twenty years after Edward reached the throne the make-up of parliament was governed by no settled rule. Sometimes knights of the shire were called; sometimes they were not. Sometimes knights, barons and clergy were summoned to separate assemblies at different times. Only twice do town representatives appear to have been called. This indefinite constitution of parliament might have continued, perhaps, if increasing need of money had not

forced the king to give heed to the growing wealth and weight in the nation of the traders and craftsmen of the towns. Edward came to the shrewd conclusion that if these thrifty burghers were taken into counsel, and were made responsible parties in the settlement of questions of taxation, they would open their purses with more liberal and more willing hands. Being then, in 1295, hard pressed for money on account of a war with France, and in trouble with his barons and clergy at the same time, Edward took up Simon de Montfort's idea, and called a parliament in which each city was represented by two citizens, each borough by two burghers, each shire by two knights. As this was summoned with more regularity of form and circumstance than Earl Simon's, and was perfect in its three estates, it came to be looked upon as the 'model parliament' in later times."

His "model
parliament"
A. D. 1295

Larned,
*History of
England*,
148

Two years later, the absolutely fundamental principle of the English constitution, that the nation cannot be taxed without the consent of its representatives in parliament, was established with new distinctness, in a confirmation of the charters, conceded in Edward's absence by his son, but assented to afterward by himself.

His "con-
firmatio
chartar-
um"

Thus the reign of Edward I. was really the most important in the constitutional history of England. It was scarcely less important in the history of English jurisprudence; for Edward was in full sympathy with the spirit of an age that was wonderfully awakened to a study and reform of

Statutes

the law. The great statutes of his reign are among the monuments of Edward's statesmanship, and not the least important of them are those by which he checked the encroachments of the church and its dangerous acquisition of wealth.

Subjugation of Wales

At the same time, the temper of this vigorous king was warlike and aggressive. He subdued the Welsh and annexed Wales as a principality to England. He enforced the feudal supremacy which the English kings claimed over Scotland, and seated John Balliol, as a vassal, on the Scottish throne. The war of Scottish Independence then ensued, of which William Wallace and Robert Bruce were the heroes. Wallace perished on an English scaffold in 1305; Bruce, the next year, secured the Scottish crown, and eventually broke the bonds in which his country was held. Edward I. died in 1307.

War of Scottish Independence, A. D. 1290-1328

Spain, Christian and Moorish

It will now be necessary to go back a little in time, and carry our survey farther afield, into the countries of Europe more remote from the center of the events we have scanned. In Spain, for example, there should be noticed, very briefly, the turning movement of the tide of Mohammedan conquest, which drove the Spanish Christians into the mountains of the north. In the eighth century, their little principality of Asturia had widened into the small kingdom of Leon, and the eastern county of Leon had taken the name of

Rise of Christian kingdoms, 8th-11th centuries

Castella (Castile) from the number of forts or castles with which it bristled, on the Moorish border. East of Leon, in the Pyrenees, there grew up, about the same time, the kingdom of Navarre, which became important in the eleventh century, under an enterprising king, Sancho the Great, who seized Castile and made a separate kingdom of it, which he bequeathed to his son. The same Navarrese king extended his dominion over a part of the Spanish border, or march, which Charlemagne had wrested from the Moors in the ninth century, and out of this territory the kingdom of Aragon was formed.

These four kingdoms, of Leon, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon, were shuffled together and divided again, in changing combinations, many times during the next century or two; but Castile and Leon were united permanently in 1230. Meantime Portugal, wrested from the Moors, became a distinct kingdom; while Navarre was reduced in size and importance. Castile, Aragon, and Portugal are from that time the Christian powers in the peninsula which carried on the unending war with their Moslem neighbors. By the end of the thirteenth century they had driven the Moors into the extreme south of the peninsula, where the latter, thenceforth, held little beyond the small kingdom of Granada, which defended itself for two centuries more.

Castile,
Aragon and
Portugal

The Christians were winners and the Moslems were losers in this long battle, because adversity had disciplined the one and prosperity had

Decay of
Moorish
power

(See pages
389, 437)

relaxed and vitiated the other. Success bred disunion, and the spoils of victory engendered corruption, among the followers of Mohammed, very quickly in their career. The middle of the eighth century was hardly passed when the huge empire they had conquered broke in twain, as we have seen, and two caliphates, on one side of the Mediterranean, imitated the two Roman empires on the other. We have seen how the caliphate of the east, with its seat at Bagdad, went steadily to wreck; but fresh converts of Islam, out of deserts at the north, were in readiness, there, to gather the fragments and construct a new Moham-medan power. In the west, where the caliphs held their court at Cordova, the same crumbling of their power befell them, through feuds and jealousies and the decay of a sensuous race; but there were none to rebuild it in the prophet's name. The Moor gave way to the Castilian in Spain, for reasons not differing very much from the reasons that explain the supplanting of the Arab by the Turk in the east.

Moorish
civilization

While its grandeur lasted in Spain,—from the eighth to the eleventh centuries,—the empire of the Saracens, or Moors, was the most splendid of its age. It developed a civilization which must have been finer, in the superficial showing, and in much of its spirit as well, than anything found in Christian Europe at that time. Its religious temper was less fierce and intolerant. Its intellectual disposition was towards broader thinking and freer inquiry. Its artistic feeling was more

instinctive and more true. It took lessons from classic learning and philosophy before Germanized Europe had become aware of the existence of either, and it gave the lessons at second hand to its Christian neighbors. Its industries were conducted with a knowledge and a skill that could be found among no other people.

Says Dr. Draper: "Europe at the present day does not offer more taste, more refinement, more elegance, than might have been seen, at the epoch of which we are speaking, in the capitals of the Spanish Arabs. Their streets were lighted and solidly paved. Their houses were frescoed and carpeted; they were warmed in winter by furnaces, and cooled in summer with perfumed air brought by underground pipes from flower beds. They had baths, and libraries, and dining halls, fountains of quicksilver and water. City and country were full of conviviality, and of dancing to lute and mandolin. Instead of the drunken and gluttonous wassail orgies of their northern neighbors, the feasts of the Saracens were marked with sobriety."

Draper,
*Intellectual
Develop-
ment of
Europe*, ch.
xvi

The brilliancy of the Moorish civilization seems like that of some short-lived flower, which may spring from a thin soil of no lasting fertility. The qualities which yielded it had their season of ascendancy over the deeper-lying forces that worked in the Gothic mind of Christian Spain; but time exhausted the one, while it matured the other.

There seems to be no doubt that the long con-

Mediæval
Spanish
character

flirt of races and religions in the peninsula affected the character of the Spanish Christians more profoundly, both for good and for ill, than it affected the people with whom they strove. It hardened and energized them, preparing them for the bold adventures they were soon to pursue in a new-found world, and for a lordly career in all parts of the rounded globe. It embittered and gave fierceness to a sentiment among them which bore some likeness to religion, but which was, in reality, the partisanship of a church, and not the devotion of a faith. It tended to put bigotry in the place of piety — religious rancor in the place of charity — priests and images in the place of Christ — much more among the Spaniards than among other peoples; for they, alone, were crusaders against the Moslem for eight hundred years.

Early free
institutions
in Spain

Hallam,
*Middle
Ages*, ch. iv

Social con-
ditions

The political effects of those centuries of struggle in the peninsula were also remarkable and strangely mixed. In all the earlier stages of the national development, until the close of the mediæval period, there seems to have been as promising a growth of popular institutions, in most directions, as can be found in England itself. Apparently, there was more good feeling between classes than elsewhere in Europe. Nobles, knights and commons fought side by side in so continuous a battle that they were more friendly and more familiarly acquainted with each other. Moreover, the ennobled and the knighted were more numerous in Spain than in the neighboring

countries. The kings were lavish of such honors in rewarding valor, on every battlefield and after every campaign. Therefore it was impossible for so great a distance to widen between the grandee and the peasant or the burgher as that which separated the lord and the citizen in Germany or France.

The division of Christian Spain into several petty kingdoms, and the circumstances under which they were placed, retarded the growth of monarchical power, and yet did not tend to a feudal disintegration of society; because the pressure of its perpetual war with the infidels forced the preservation of a certain degree of unity, sufficient to be a saving bond. At the same time, the Spanish cities became prosperous, and naturally, in the circumstances of the country, much freedom and many privileges were acquired. The inhabitants of some cities in Aragon enjoyed the privileges of nobility as a body; the magistrates of other cities were ennobled. Both in Aragon and Castile, the towns had deputies in the cortes (the national legislature) before any representatives of boroughs sat in the English parliament; and the cortes seems to have been, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a more potent factor in government than any assembly of estates in any other part of Europe.

Political
influences

Representa-
tion of
towns in
the cortes

But something was needed to complete the evolution of a popular government from this hopeful beginning; something which England,

Causes of
the loss of
popular
freedom

A "third
estate"
confined to
the towns

for example, possessed, and which was lacking in Spain. It may have been chiefly the want of representation in the cortes for the smaller land-owners of the rural districts, as well as for the burghers of the towns. England was the one nation in which town and country became united in the making up of "the commons," or third estate. Elsewhere the townsfolk were the only people included in that represented class, and their separateness in the possession of political rights seems to furnish the reason why those rights were lost. There may have been, moreover, some lack of political faculty in Spain; for the Castilian commons did not grasp the strings of the national purse when they had it in their hands, as the practical Englishmen did. They allowed the election of deputies from the towns to slip away from them, and to become an official function of the municipalities, where it was corrupted and controlled by the crown. In Aragon, the popular rights were maintained more effectively, perhaps; but even there the political faculty of the people must have been defective, as compared with that of the nations in the north which developed free government from less promising germs. And yet, it is possible that the whole subsequent failure of Spain may be explained by the ruinous prosperity of her career in the sixteenth century,—by the fatal gold it gave her from America, and the independent power it put into the hands of her kings.

Northern and northeastern Europe

While the Spaniards in their southern peninsula were wrestling with the infidel Moor, their Gothic kindred of Sweden, and the other Norse nations of that opposite extremity of Europe, had been casting off paganism and emerging from the barbarism of their piratical age, very slowly. It was not until the tenth and eleventh centuries that Christianity got footing among them. It was not until the thirteenth century that unity and order, the fruits of firm government, began to be really fixed in any part of the Scandinavian peninsulas.

Scandinavia

The same is substantially true of the greater Slavic states on the eastern side of Europe. The Poles had accepted Christianity in the tenth century, and their dukes, in the same century, had assumed the title of kings. In the twelfth century they had acquired a large dominion and exercised great power; but the kingdom was divided, was brought into collision with the Teutonic Knights, who conquered Prussia, and it fell into a disordered state. The Russians had been Christianized in the same missionary century—the tenth; but civilization made slow progress among them, and their nation was divided and re-divided in shifting principalities by contending families and lords. In the thirteenth century they were overwhelmed by the fearful calamity of a conquest by Mongol or Tatar hordes, and fell under the brutal domination of the successors of Genghis Khan.

Poland

Russia

China and the Mongols

Khitans
and Kins

This Mongol or Tatar invasion of eastern Europe was sequent to a terrific outburst, in Asia, of those barbaric energies which exploded so often among the restless, swarming nomads on the northern borders of the great Mongolian desert. Europe had suffered from them before, in the visitation of the Huns, and China, as we have seen, had been harassed by its dreadful neighbors for many centuries past. When we glanced last at eastern Asia, the Manchurian Kins were growing to a formidable power, and were threatening to supplant the Khitans, who had seized and seated themselves in the northeastern provinces of the Chinese empire. The subjugation of the Khitans was accomplished in the twelfth century, and the Kins then proceeded to extend their dominion over a much larger part of northern China than the Khitans had mastered, taking even the great province of Honan, on the southerly side of the Hoang-ho.

The Sung
Dynasty

The sovereigns of the empire at this time were of a dynasty called the Sung, which acquired the throne in 960 and occupied it for more than three hundred years. It produced many princes of fine character, admirably fitted to improve their country and its people in untroubled times. In spirit they seem to have represented the Chinese civilization at its best; but it was a spirit too pacific for the situation in which China was then placed. The military arm of government was allowed to become weak. Peace at any price of

conciliation or money-payment to a threatening neighbor was too often the principle of the policy pursued; and this was a fatal policy in dealing with such neighbors as the Tatars of the north and east. The latter, for centuries, had taken teaching from the more civilized Chinese in everything except the culture that tended to a peaceful and quiet ordering of life. They had learned enough of arts and of political organization to make their barbarism more formidable than it was in earlier times.

The Tatars

Early in the twelfth century the Sung dynasty lost nearly half of its empire to the Kins; and this was the Chinese situation when, in the last quarter of that century, one Temujin, the young chief of a Tatar clan which claimed a special right to the name of *Mongol*, or "the brave," began to make himself famous in his own region and to gather a large following of warriors by bold exploits. The original lordship of Temujin was a small territory in the Mongolia of modern maps, on the eastern border of Manchuria, between the Onon and Kerulon rivers. For thirty years after his accession to the chieftainship of the Mongol tribe he struggled with many rivals for a supremacy in Mongolia, which he won completely at last. Then he assumed the title of Genghis or Jingis Khan, the meaning of which is "Very Mighty Khan," and set forth, with a pitiless ambition and an awful ability, to pillage, subjugate and destroy in the widest possible field. Before his death, in 1227, the armies of Genghis Khan had

Temujin,
the Mongol
chief

Assumes
the title of
Genghis
Khan

His career
of slaughter

half extinguished the Kin empire in northern China, had overrun Central Asia, to the Caspian Sea, and had desolated most of Persia and Afghanistan. Says Mr. Howorth, the historian of the Mongols: "He may fairly claim to have conquered the greatest area of the world's surface that was ever subdued by one hand." "His creed was to sweep away all cities, as the haunts of slaves and of luxury; that his herds might freely feed upon grass whose green was free from dusty feet. It does make one hide one's face in terror to read that, from 1211 to 1223, 18,470,000 human beings perished in China and Tangut alone, at the hands of Jingsis and his followers."

Howorth,
*History of
the Mongols*
1: 113

Conquests
of Okkodai,
1227-1241

Under Okkodai, or Ogotai, the son and successor of Genghis, the overthrow of the Kins in northern China was completed and the Mongols carried devastation, death and paralyzing terror through Armenia, Georgia, Asia Minor, southern and middle Russia, Poland, and Hungary. Nothing, perhaps, but the sudden decease of Okkodai saved western Europe from their torches and swords. Most of Russia was crushed into hopeless submission to the lord of a Tatar host, called the Golden Horde, who established his tented capital on a tributary of the lower Volga, and who laid a yoke on the Russians which they bore for more than two hundred years.

Subjuga-
tion of
Russia

Kublai
Khan, A.D.
1259-1294

In 1259 the mighty lordship created by Genghis and Okkodai passed to a grandson of the former, Kublai Khan, who is the best known of all the Mongol sovereigns, thanks to the pen of an

adventurous Venetian, Marco Polo, who spent seventeen years in his empire and at his court. Kublai Khan claimed supremacy over the entire Mongol empire; but his headship was unacknowledged in some remote parts. His immediate dominion embraced China, Mongolia, Korea, Manchuria and Tibet. His capital city was Peking, known then as Khan Balig ("the khan's city"), but made famous by the Venetian traveler as Cambalu. It was not until 1279 that the stubborn resistance of the Sung dynasty in southern China was overcome and the last of its provinces added to the realm of the khan. Nowhere else, in Asia or Europe, had the Mongols been fought with so much of enduring valor and resolution.

Marco Polo

Yule,
*The Book of
Ser Marco
Polo*

Complete
conquest of
China, A.D.
1279

China was the highly prized part of Kublai Khan's dominion, and he aimed to identify himself with the ancient empire, fitting himself and his descendants into the long roll of its sovereigns by assuming a dynastic name. Accordingly, he and his Mongol successors appear in the annals of China as the Yuen dynasty, which held the throne for not quite a century after the extinction of the Sung. With all his efforts to naturalize himself and his people among the Chinese, he was never able to reconcile them to his intrusion, and they but waited for a time when some native leader could win back the imperial seat.

The Yuen
Dynasty

In 1274, and again in 1281, Kublai Khan made vigorous attempts to force his yoke upon the Japanese; but the sea protected them, as it has in all times since. In both of their expeditions

Mongol
attacks
upon
Japan, A.D.
1274, 1281

against the islanders the Mongols were defeated, with losses so appalling that the project of conquest was given up. There was equal failure in an undertaking against the kingdom of Anam, in Farther India; but success in an attack on the larger kingdom of Mien, or Burmah, which submitted to complete incorporation in the empire of the khan. In Tibet the supremacy of Kublai was established at an early period of his reign, and he instituted the office and the title of the Grand Lama in that seat of Buddhism, uniting religious authority with political powers.

Burmah,

Tibet

Next to that of Kublai, the most important division of the general Mongol empire was one that fell to Khulagu or Houlagou, another grandson of Genghis, who completed the conquest of Persia and Mesopotamia in 1257-8, and extinguished the caliphate at Bagdad, with hideous carnage and destruction in the captured city. With the title of Ilkhans, Khulagu and his successors reigned at Maragha, in Aderbijan, for nearly a century and a half, when another storm of Tatar conquest swept them away.

The
Ilkhans

Japan

The success of the resistance of the Japanese to the formidable attacks on their independence made by Kublai Khan was due, no doubt, to the military and naval training they had acquired in their own civil wars. As stated formerly, the long dominant Fujiwara family had lost control of the government about the middle of the eleventh

(See page
433)

century. Unwisely, it had permitted other families to acquire leadership in military affairs, at the same time allowing a distinctly military class to be formed among the people, of men trained to the profession of arms. The natural consequence was a growth of military power which overtopped the civil, and superseded it in political control. This grew up in two families, the Taira and the Minamoto, both branching from the imperial stock; and the strife for supremacy between these two filled half of the eleventh century and the greater part of the twelfth with the miseries of civil war. The struggle ended in 1185, at a desperate sea fight, in which the Tairas perished and the Minamotos were left in possession of unlimited power. Their chief, Yoritomo, contenting himself with the title of "shogun" (corrupted into "tycoon" by western tongues), signifying general or commander-in-chief, established then in Japan that military administration of government which left nothing but a show of ceremonies and forms to the crowned mikado and his court, and which was maintained until 1868. What the mayors of the palace were to the Merovingian kings of the Franks, that the shoguns of Japan were to the imperial mikados; but, unlike the palace mayors, they never deprived their nominal sovereign of his title or his throne.

Tairas and
Minamotos

Origin of
the
"shogun,"
A. D. 1185

For twenty years, only, the shogunate was in the family of Yoritomo; then it passed to a child of Fujiwara descent, with the real powers of the

The Hojo
regency

office conveyed to another family, the Hojos, as regents of the young shogun; and this Hojo regency held the reins of government in Japan for more than a century, during which the country was in a deplorable state.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE EXILE OF DANTE TO THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG

(A. D. 1302 to 1454)

Afflictions of the fourteenth century—War, pestilence and demoralizations. *The "Hundred Years War" waged by the English in France:* Its beginning by Edward III.—The Black Prince.—Battles of Crécy and Poitiers.—Wretched state of France.—The "Black Death" in England.—Social changes produced.—Democratic ideas afloat.—Wiclif and the Lollards.—Chaucer.—Beginnings of a great English literature.—Renewal of the war by Henry V.—Battle of Agincourt.—France half conquered.—Appearance of Joan of Arc.—Her wonderful influence.—Her death at the stake.—Final expulsion of the English from France.—"Wars of the Roses" in England. *Germany and the Holy Roman empire:* The "Golden Bull" of Charles IV.—Reformation of Huss in Bohemia.—The Hussite wars. *Italy and the church:* The "Babylonish captivity" and the "great schism."—Anarchy in Rome.—Rienzi's revolution.—The "Sicilian vespers."—Long strife over Naples.—Rise of the despots in northern Italy.—Florence yielding to the Medici. *The Swiss Confederacy:* Its origin.—Doubtful legend of Tell. *The Ottoman Turks:* Their early career.—Their invasion of Europe.—Struggles of the eastern empire and the Balkan peoples with them.—Their capture of Constantinople. *The Mongols again:* Horrible career of Timour. *China:* Overthrow of the Mongol dynasty. *Japan:* The Ashikagas.

The brightened prospects of Europe in the thirteenth century were darkened again in the fourteenth by grievous calamities and dreadful wars. It was a period of most ruinous conflicts, and of miserable demoralizations and disorders, which depressed all Europe by their effects. In the front of them all was the wicked "Hundred Years War," forced on France by the ambition of an English king to wear two crowns; while with it came the bloody insurrection of the Jacquerie, the ravages of the free companies, and ruinous anarchy everywhere. Then, in Italy, there was a duel to the death between Venice and Genoa; and a long, wasting contest of rivals for

Calamities
and afflictions of the
fourteenth
century

the possession of Naples. In Germany, a contested imperial election, and the struggle of the Swiss against the Austrian dukes. In Flanders, repeated revolts under the two Artevelde. In the east, the terrible fight of Christendom with the advancing Turk. And, while men were everywhere so busily slaying one another, there came the great pestilence which they called the Black Death, to help them in the grim work. At the same time the church, which might have kindled some beacon lights of faith and hope in the midst of all this darkness and terror, was sinking to its lowest state, and Rome had become an unruly robbers' den.

Voices of
hope and
cheer

There were a few voices heard, above the wailing and the battle-din of the afflicted age, which charmed and comforted it: voices which preached the pure gospel of Wiclif and Huss,—which recited the great epic of Dante,—which syllabled the melodious verse of Petrarch and Chaucer,—which told the gay tales of Boccaccio; but the pauses of peace in which men might listen to such messages and give themselves to such delights were neither many nor long.

The Hundred Years War: Its first stage

A few words of preceding history will explain the origin of the wicked Hundred Years War.

Edward I. of England died in 1307, and his kingly capability died with him. He transmitted neither spirit nor wisdom to his son, the second Edward, who gave himself and his kingdom up to

Affairs in
England

foreign favorites, as his grandfather had done. His angry subjects took the government out of his hands, and confided it to a body of twenty-one members, called Ordainers. His reign of twenty years was one of protracted strife and disorder; but the constitutional power of parliament made gains. In outward appearance, however, there was nothing to redeem the wretchedness of the time. The struggle of factions was pushed to civil war; while Scotland, by the great blow struck at Bannockburn, made her independence complete.

Battle of
Bannock-
burn, A. D.
1314

The queen of Edward II., Isabella of France, daughter of Philip the Fair, made, at last, common cause with his enemies. In January, 1327, he was forced to resign the crown, and in September of the same year he was murdered, the queen, with little doubt, assenting to the deed. His son, Edward III., now came to the throne.

Edward
III., A. D.
1327-1377

Meantime, in France, the crown had been worn by no less than four kings. Philip IV. died in 1314, leaving three sons, who occupied the throne for brief terms in succession: Louis X., surnamed Hutin (disorder), who survived his father little more than a year; Philip V., called "the Long" (1316-1322), and Charles IV., known as "the Fair" (1322-1328). With the death of Charles the Fair, the direct line of the Capetian kings came to an end, and Philip, count of Valois, first cousin of the late kings, came to the throne, as Philip VI.—introducing the Valois line of kings. This order of succession was held to be prescribed

Affairs in
France

The Salic
Law

by a law of the ancient Franks, called the Salic Law, which declared that "Salic land shall not fall to woman." It was disputed by King Edward III. of England, who contended that, if his mother, Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV. and sister of the last three kings, could not inherit the French crown, he could do so, as her lawful heir. All legal authorities condemn his claim, but he made it serious in 1337 by assuming the title of king of France and preparing to enforce his authority as such.

Opening of
the war,
A. D. 1337

The war opened in Flanders, then connected with the English very closely in trade. Philip VI. of France forced the count of Flanders to expel English merchants from his territory. Edward III. retaliated by forbidding the exportation of wool to Flanders, and this reduced the Flemish weavers to idleness. They rose in revolt, drove out their count, and formed an alliance with England, under the lead of Jacob van Arteveld, a brewer, of Ghent. The next year Edward joined the Flemings with an army and entered France, but made no successful advance, though his fleet won a victory, in a sea-fight off Sluys, and hostilities were suspended by a truce. In 1341 they were renewed in Brittany, over a disputed succession to the dukedom, and the scattered sieges and chivalric combats which made up the war in that region for two years are described with minuteness by Froissart, the gossipy chronicler of the time. After a second truce, the grimly serious stage of the war was reached in 1346. It

Jacob van
Arteveld
and the
Flemish
revolt

Froissart,
Chronicles,
ch. xxviii-
clxix

was in that year that the English won the victory at Crécy, which was the pride and boast of their nation for centuries; and in the next season they took Calais, which they held for more than two hundred years.

Battle of
Crécy, A. D.
1346

Philip died in 1350 and was succeeded by his son John. In 1355, Edward of England repeated his invasion, ravaging Artois, while his son, called the Black Prince, from Guienne (which the English had held since the Angevin time), devastated Languedoc. The next year, this last named prince made another sally from Bordeaux, northwards, towards the Loire, and was encountered by the French king, with a splendid army, at Poitiers. The victory of the English in this case was more overwhelming than at Crécy, although they were greatly outnumbered. King John was taken prisoner and conveyed to London. His kingdom was in confusion.

Battle of
Poitiers,
A. D. 1356

The dauphin called together the states-general of France, and that body, in which the commons, or third estate, obtained a majority, assumed powers and compelled assent to reforms which seemed likely to place it on a footing of equal importance with the parliament of England. The leader of the third estate in these measures was Etienne or Stephen Marcel, provost of Paris, a man of commanding energy and courage. The dauphin, under orders from his captive father, attempted to nullify the ordinances of the states-general. Paris rose at the call of Marcel and the frightened prince became submissive; but the

Meeting of
the states-
general

Froissart,
Chronicles,
ch. clxx-
clxxxvii

Civil war nobles of the provinces resented these high-handed proceedings of the Parisians and civil war ensued.

Insurrection of the Jacquerie, A. D. 1358

The peasants, who were in great misery, took advantage of the situation to rise in support of the Paris burgesses, and for the redressing of their own wrongs. This insurrection of the Jacquerie, as it is known, produced horrible deeds of outrage and massacre on both sides, and seems to have had no other result. Paris, meantime, was besieged and hard pressed; Marcel, suspected of an intended treachery, was killed, and with his death the whole attempt to assert popular rights fell to the ground.

Misery in France

The state of France at this time was one of measureless misery. It was overrun by freebooters—discharged soldiers, desperate, homeless and idle men, and the ruffians who always bestir themselves when authority disappears. They roamed the country in bands, large and small, stripped it of what war had spared, and left famine behind them.

Peace of Bretigny, A. D. 1360

At length terms of peace were agreed upon, in a treaty signed at Bretigny, and fighting ceased, except in Brittany, where the war went on for four years more. By the treaty, all French claims upon Aquitaine and its dependencies were given up, and Edward acquired full sovereignty there, no longer owing homage, as a vassal, to the king of France. Calais, too, was ceded to England, and so heavy a ransom was exacted from the captive King John that he failed to collect money

Calais ceded to England

for the payment of it and was a prisoner till he died.

Charles V., who now ruled independently, as he had ruled for some years in his father's name, proved to be a more prudent and capable prince, and his counselors and captains were wisely chosen. He was a man of studious tastes and of considerable learning for that age, with intelligence to see and understand the greater sources of evil in his kingdom. Above all, he had patience enough to plant better things in the seed and wait for them to grow, which is one of the grander secrets of statesmanship. By careful, judicious measures, he and those who shared the task of government with him improved the discipline and condition of their armies.

Charles the
Wise, A. D.
1364-1380

Guizot,
*Popular
History of
France*,
ch. xx

The "great companies" of freebooters, too strong to be put down, were lured out of the kingdom by an expedition into Spain, which the famous warrior Du Guesclin commanded, and which was sent against the detestable Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, whom the English upheld. A stringent economy in public expenditure was introduced, and the management of the finances was improved. The towns were encouraged to strengthen their fortifications, and the state and feeling of the whole country were lifted slowly from the gloomy depth to which the war had cast them down.

The "great
companies"

At length Charles felt prepared to challenge another encounter with the English, by repudiating the ignominious terms of the treaty of

Reopening
of the war,
A. D. 1369

Froissart,
Chronicles,
ch. cexl-
cclxxxiv

Massacre of
Limoges,
A. D. 1370

The Eng-
lish losing
ground

Charles
VI.,
A. D. 1380-
1422

Duchy of
Burgundy

Bretigny. Before the year closed, Edward's armies were in the country again, but accomplished nothing beyond the havoc which they wrought as they marched. The French avoided battles, and their cities were well defended. Next year the English returned, and the Black Prince earned infamy by a ferocious massacre of three thousand men, women, and children, in the city of Limoges, when he had taken it by storm. It was his last campaign. Already suffering from a mortal disease, he returned to England to wait for death. The war went on, with no decisive results, until 1375, when it was suspended by a truce. In 1377, Edward III. died, and the French king began war again with great success. Within three years he expelled the English from every part of France except Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, Cherbourg and Calais. Had he lived a little longer, there might soon have been an end of the war; but he died in 1380, and fresh calamities fell upon unhappy France.

The son who succeeded him, Charles VI., was an epileptic boy of twelve years, who had three greedy and selfish uncles to quarrel over the control of him, and to rob the crown. One of these was the duke of Burgundy, the first prince of a new great house which King John had foolishly created. Just before that fatuous king died, the old line of Burgundian dukes came to an end, and he had the opportunity, which wise kings before him would have improved very eagerly, to annex that fief to the crown. Instead of doing so, he

gave it as an appanage to his son Philip, called "the Bold," and thus rooted a new plant of feudalism in France, and one destined to cause infinite trouble. Another of the uncles was Louis, duke of Anjou, heir to the crown of Naples under a will of the lately murdered Queen Joanna, and preparing for an expedition to enforce his claim. The third was duke of Berry, upon whom his father, King John, had conferred another great appanage, including Berry, Poitou and Auvergne.

The pillage and misgovernment of the realm under these rapacious guardians of the young king were so great that desperate risings were provoked; but they were all suppressed. At the same time, the Flemings, who had submitted to their count, revolted once more, under the lead of Philip van Arteveld, son of their former leader. The French moved an army to the assistance of the count of Flanders, and the sturdy men of Ghent, who confronted it almost alone, suffered a crushing defeat at Roosebeke. Philip van Arteveld fell in the battle, with twenty-six thousand of his men. Two years later, the count of Flanders died, and the duke of Burgundy, who had married his daughter, acquired that rich possession. This beginning of the union of Burgundy and the Netherlands, creating a power by the side of the throne of France which threatened to overshadow it, and having for its ultimate consequence the casting of the wealth of the Low Countries, first into the lap of the house of Austria and finally into the coffers of Spain, is an

Flemish
revolt

Death of
Philip van
Arteveld,
A. D. 1382

Union of
Flanders
with Bur-
gundy, A. D.
1384

event of large importance in European history.

When Charles VI. came of age, he took the government into his own hands, and for some years it was administered by capable men. But in 1392 the king's mind gave way, and his uncles regained control of affairs. Philip of Burgundy maintained the ascendancy until his death. Then the controlling influence passed to the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, between whom and the new duke of Burgundy, John, called "the Fearless," a bitter feud arose. John, who was unscrupulous, employed assassins to waylay and murder the duke of Orleans, and that foul deed gave rise to two parties in France. Those who sought vengeance ranged themselves under the leadership of the count of Armagnac, and were called by his name. The Burgundians, who sustained Duke John, were in the main a party of the people; for the Duke had cultivated popularity, especially in Paris, by advocating liberal measures and extending the rights and privileges of the citizens.

The kingdom was kept in turmoil and terror for years by the war of these factions, especially in and about Paris, where the guild of the butchers took a prominent part on the Burgundian side, arming a riotous body of men who were called Cabochiens, from their leader's name. In 1413 the Armagnacs succeeded in recovering possession of the capital and the Cabochiens were suppressed.

England during the War

In England, the period of the Hundred Years War, thus far, had been one of not many conspicuous events; and when the romantic tale of that war—the last sanguinary romance of expiring chivalry—is taken out of the English annals of the time, there is not much left that looks interesting on the surface of things. Below the surface there are movements of no little importance to be found.

Expiring
chivalry

When Edward III. put forward his claim to the crown of France, and prepared to make it good by force of arms, the English nation had no interest of its own in the enterprise, which promised nothing but harm to it, whatever might be the result. If the king succeeded, his English realm would become a mere minor appendage to a more imposing continental dominion, and he and his successors might acquire an independent and absolute power. If he failed, the humiliation of failure would wound the pride and the prestige of the nation, while its resources would have been drained for naught. But these rational considerations did not suffice to breed any discoverable opposition to King Edward's ambitious undertaking. The parliament gave sanction to it; most probably the people at large approved, with exultant expectations of national glory; and when Crécy and Poitiers, with victories over the hostile Scots, filled the measure of England's glory to overflowing, they were intoxicated by it, and had little thought then of consequences or cost.

Early popu-
larity of
the war

Altered
feelings

But long before Edward's reign came to an end, the splendid pageantries of the war had passed out of sight, and a new generation was suffering the miseries and mortifications that came in its train. The attempt to conquer France had failed; the fruits of the victories of Crécy and Poitiers had been lost; even the greater part of Guienne, which had been English ground since the days of Henry II., was given up. And England was weak from the drain of money and men which the war had caused. The awful plague of the fourteenth century, the Black Death, had smitten her people hard. There had been famine in the land, and great distress, and much grief.

The "Black
Death,"
A. D. 1348-
1349

Hecker,
*Epidemics
of the Mid-
dle Ages*

Social
changes in
progress

But the calamities of this bitter time wrought beneficent effects, which no man then living is likely to have understood. By plague, famine and battle, labor was made scarce, wages were raised, the half-enslaved laborer was emancipated, despite the efforts of parliament to keep him in bonds, and landowners were forced to let their lands to tenant-farmers, who strengthened the English middle-class. By the demands of the war for money and men, the king was held more in dependence on parliament than he might otherwise have been, and the plant of constitutional government, which began its growth in the previous century, took deeper root.

The Black
Prince and
John of
Gaunt

In the last years of his life Edward III. lost all of his vigor, and fell under the influence of a woman, Alice Perrers, who wronged and scandalized the nation. The king's eldest son, the Black



RETURN OF GERMANS AFTER BATTLE IN TEUTOBERG FOREST

From the painting by Paul Thumann (1834-), now in the Gymnasium, Minden



Prince, was dying slowly of an incurable disease, and took little part in affairs. When he did interfere it seems to have been with some leanings to the popular side. The next in age of the living sons of Edward was a turbulent, proud, self-seeking prince, who gave England much trouble and was distrusted and disliked. This was John, duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt, or Ghent, because of his birth in that town.

The Black Prince, dying in 1376, left a young son, Richard, then ten years old, who was recognized as the heir to the throne, and who succeeded to it in the following year, when Edward III. died. The duke of Lancaster had been suspected of a design to set Richard aside and claim the crown for himself; but he did not venture the attempt; nor was he able to secure even the regency of the kingdom during the young king's minority. The distrust of him was so general that parliament and the lords preferred to invest Richard with full sovereignty, even as a boy. But John of Gaunt, notwithstanding these endeavors to exclude him from any place of authority, contrived to attain a substantial mastery of the government, managing the war in France and the expenditure of public moneys in his own way. At least, he was held responsible in the main for what was bad, and his name was heard oftenest in the mutterings of popular discontent.

Richard II.,
A. D. 1377-
1399

Popular
discontent

The peasants were now growing impatient of the last fetters of villeinage which they wore, and very conscious of their right to complete freedom.

The Wat
Tylerinsur-
rection,
A. D. 1381

Those feelings were stirred strongly by a heavy poll-tax which parliament levied in 1381. The consequence was an outbreak of insurrection, started in Essex and Kent. The insurgents began by making everybody they encountered swear to be true to King Richard, and submit to no king named John, meaning John of Gaunt. They increased in numbers and boldness until they entered and took possession of the city of London, where they beheaded the archbishop of Canterbury, and other obnoxious persons; but permitted no thieving to be done. On the day after this occurrence, Wat Tyler, the insurgent leader, met the young king at Smithfield, for a conference, and was killed by one of those who attended the king. The excuse made for the deed was some word of insolence spoken; but there is every appearance of a foul act of treachery in the affair. Richard behaved boldly and with much presence of mind, acquiring a command of the angry rebels, which resulted in their being dispersed.

Democratic
doctrines of
the time

The Wat Tyler rebellion appears to have manifested a more radically democratic state of thinking and feeling among the common people than existed in England again for more than two hundred years. John Ball, a priest, and others who were associated with Wat Tyler in the leadership, preached doctrines of social equality that would nearly have satisfied a Jacobin of the French Revolution.

If this temper of political radicalism had no positive connection with the remarkable religious

feeling of the time, which the great reformer, Wiclif, had aroused, the two movements of the English mind were started, undoubtedly, by one and the same revolutionary shock, taken from the grave alarms and anxieties of the age, and prepared for by the awakening of the previous century. Wiclif was the first English Puritan, and more of the spirit of the reformation of religion which he sought, than the spirit of Luther's reformation, went into the Protestantism that took form in England at a later day. The movement he stirred was a more wonderful anticipation of the religious revolt of the sixteenth century than any other which occurred in Europe; for that of Huss in Bohemia took its impulse from Wiclif and the English Lollards, as Wiclif's followers were called.

Wiclif and
the English
Lollards,
A. D. 1360-
1384

Trevelyan,
*England in
the Age of
Wycliffe*

Richard was a willful king, and the kingdom was kept in trouble by his fitful attempts at independence and arbitrary rule. He made enemies of most of the great lords, and lost the good will and confidence of parliament. He did what was looked upon as a great wrong to Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, by banishing both him and the duke of Norfolk from the kingdom, when he should have judged between them; and he made the wrong greater by seizing the lands of the Lancastrian house when John of Gaunt died. This caused his ruin. Henry of Bolingbroke, now duke of Lancaster, came back to England, encouraged by the discontent in the kingdom, and was joined by more supporters than

King
Richard
and Henry
of Boling-
broke

Deposition
of the king

Accession
of Henry
IV., A. D.
1399

Richard could resist. The friendless king was deposed by act of parliament, and the duke of Lancaster (a grandson of Edward III., as Richard was) was elected to the throne, which he ascended as Henry IV. By judgment of king and parliament, Richard was condemned to imprisonment for life in Pomfret Castle, and died mysteriously in the following year.

Beginning
of a great
literature in
the English
language

Chaucer

The period of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. was a most notable one in the history of English literature. It takes a doubled notability from the fact that "when England produced a poet of the highest order of poetical genius, he found his native language not only fit for his song, but so far respected in the educated circles of the day that he could bring it into use. At no earlier time could a poet of Chaucer's class, appealing to the cultivated and not the common taste of his time, have been able to write in English verse. The demand of the audience for which he wrote would have been for Latin or for French. But now, for the first time in three centuries [since the Norman conquest], the language of England had again become the language of its literature, for learned and unlearned, for court and cottage alike; and the fact had great meaning. For the character, for the individuality of the nation, we may say that it dates a coming of age."

"If Chaucer did not stand so high above them all, his fellow poets of the time would interest us more than they do; for they were no mean heralds of the great literature which England was then

making ready to give to the world. Langland's 'Vision of Piers Plowman,' John Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' and the 'Bruce' of the Scottish poet, John Barbour, would have given a fair distinction to this age, if it had offered no higher achievement; while Wiclif, in his translation of the Bible and in his tracts, had opened a great common school for the cultivation of English prose.

Langland

Gower

Barbour

Wiclif's
Bible

"The enactment of a statute in 1362, requiring all pleadings in court to be in the English tongue, shows the completeness with which the language of the people had now recovered its sovereignty in the land."

Larned,
*History of
England,*
184

The reign of Henry IV., which lasted a little more than thirteen years, was troubled by risings and conspiracies, all originating among the nobles, out of motives purely personal or factious, and having no real political cause. But no events in English history are more commonly familiar, or seem to be invested with a higher importance, than the rebellions of Owen Glendower and the Percys,—Northumberland and Harry Hotspur,—simply because Shakespeare had laid his magic upon what otherwise would be a story of little note. Wars with the always hostile Scots supplied other stirring incidents to the record of the time; but these came to a summary end in 1405, when the crown prince, James, of Scotland, voyaging to France, was driven by foul winds to the English coast and taken prisoner. The prince's father, King Robert, died on hearing the news, and

Henry IV.,
A. D. 1399-
1413Glendower
and the
Percys

James I., of
Scotland

James, the captive, was now entitled to be king. But the English held him for eighteen years, treating him as a guest at their court, rather than as a prisoner, and educating him with care.

Persecu-
tion of the
Lollards

To strengthen his precarious seat upon the throne, Henry cultivated the friendship of the church, and seems to have found this course expedient, even at considerable cost to his popularity. For the attitude of the commons towards the church was anything but friendly at this time. They went so far as to pass a bill for the confiscation of church property, which the lords rejected; and they seem to have repented of an act passed early in his reign, under which a cruel persecution of the Lollards was begun. The clergy and the lords, with the favor of the king, maintained the barbarous law against heresy, and England for the first time saw men burned at the stake.

Second stage of the Hundred Years War

Guizot,
*Popular
History of
France*,
ch.xxii-xxiv

Henry V. of
England,
A. D. 1413-
1422

His inva-
sion of
France

Henry IV. died in 1413, and was succeeded by his spirited and able, but too ambitious son, Henry V., the Prince Hal of Shakespeare, who gave up riotous living (if the traditions of his rioting are true) when called to the grave duties of government, and showed himself to be a man of no common mould. In the distracted state of France he saw an opportunity to revive and make good the wicked claim of his great grandfather to the French crown. He invaded France, as the rightful king coming to dethrone a usurper, and began by taking Harfleur at the mouth of the

Seine, after a siege which cost him so heavily that he found it prudent to retreat towards Calais. The French intercepted him at Agincourt and forced him to give them battle. He had only twenty thousand men, but they formed a well disciplined and well ordered army. The French had gathered eighty thousand men, but they were a feudal mob. The battle ended, like those of Crécy and Poitiers, in the routing and slaughter of the French, with small loss to Henry's force. His army remained too weak in numbers, however, for operations in a hostile country, and the English king returned home, with a great train of captive princes and lords.

Battle of
Agincourt,
A. D. 1415

He left the Armagnacs and Burgundians still fighting one another, and disabling France as effectually as he could do if he stayed to ravage the land. In 1417 he came back and began to attack the strong cities of Normandy, one by one, taking Caen first. In the next year, by a horrible massacre, the Burgundian mob in Paris overcame the Armagnacs there, and reinstated Duke John of Burgundy in possession of the capital. The latter was already in negotiation with the English king, and prepared to sacrifice the kingdom for whatever might seem advantageous to himself. But Henry V. took Rouen, and, when all of Normandy submitted, he demanded nothing less than that great province, with Brittany, Guienne, Maine, Anjou and Touraine in addition,—or, substantially, the western half of France.

Henry's
second
invasion,
A. D. 1417

Submission
of Nor-
mandy

Parleyings were brought to an end in September of that year by the treacherous murder of Duke John. The Armagnacs slew him foully, at an interview to which he had been enticed, on the bridge of Montereau. His son, Duke Philip of Burgundy, now reopened negotiations with the invader, in conjunction with Queen Isabella (wife of the demented king), who had played an evil part in all the factious troubles of the time. These two, having control of the king's person, concluded a treaty with Henry V. at Troyes, according to the terms of which Henry should marry the king's daughter Catherine; should be administrator of the kingdom of France while Charles VI. lived, and should receive the crown when the latter died. The marriage took place at once, and almost the whole of France north of the Loire seemed submissive to the arrangement. The states-general and the parliament of Paris gave official recognition to it; the disinherited dauphin of France, whose own mother had signed away his regal heritage, retired, with his Armagnac supporters, to the country south of the Loire, and had little apparent prospect of holding even that.

But a mortal malady had stricken King Henry V., and he died in August, 1422. The unfortunate, rarely conscious French king, whose crown Henry had waited for, died seven weeks later. Each left an heir who was proclaimed king of France. The English pretender (Henry VI. in England, Henry II. in France) was an innocent infant, ten months old; but his court was in

Promise of
the French
crown to
the English
king

Henry's
marriage

His death,
and death
of his rival,
A. D. 1422

His infant
son pro-
claimed
king of
France

Paris, his accession was proclaimed with due ceremony at St. Denis, his sovereignty was recognized by the parliament and the university of the capital, and half of France appeared resigned to the lapse of nationality which its acceptance of him involved. The true heir of the royal house of France (Charles VII.) was a young man of nearly mature age and of fairly promising character; but he was proclaimed in a little town of Berry, by a small following of lords and knights, and the nation for which he stood hardly seemed to exist.

Charles
VII. the
true heir

The English supporters of the English king of France were too arrogant and overbearing to retain very long the good will of their allies among the French people. Something like a national feeling in northern France was aroused by the hostility they provoked, and, slowly but steadily, the strength of the position in which Henry V. left them was lost. Charles proved incapable, however, of using the advantages that opened to him, or of giving his better counselors an opportunity to serve him with good effect, and no important change took place in the situation of affairs until the English laid siege to the city of Orleans, which was the stronghold of the French cause.

French
national
feeling

Incapabili-
ty of
Charles

Then occurred one of the most extraordinary episodes in history: the appearance of the young peasant girl of Lorraine, Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc, the "Maid of Orleans"), whose coming upon the scene of war was like the descent of an angel

Appearance
of Joan of
Arc, A. D.
1423

Mrs. Oli-
phant,
*Jeanne
d'Arc*

Murray,
*Jeanne
d'Arc*

Wisdom
and fear-
lessness of
the Maid

She saves
Orleans

And takes
the king to
his corona-
tion

out of heaven, sent with a divine commission to rescue France. Belief in the inspiration of this simple maiden, who had faith in her own visions and voices, was easier for that age than belief in a rational rally of public energies, and it worked like a miracle on the spirit of the nation. But it could not have done so with effect if the untaught country girl of Domremy had not been endowed in a wonderful way, with a wise mind, as well as with an imaginative one, and with courage as well as with faith. When the belief in her inspired mission gave her power to lead the foolish king, and authority to command his disorderly troops, she acted almost invariably with understanding, with good sense, with a clear, unclouded judgment, with straightforward singleness of purpose, and with no personal fear.

She saw the necessity for saving Orleans; and when that had been done under her own captaincy, she saw how greatly King Charles would gain in prestige if he made his way to Rheims, and received, like his predecessors, a solemn coronation and consecration in the cathedral of that city. It was by force of her gentle obstinacy of determination that this was done, and the effect vindicated the sagacity of the Maid. Then she looked upon her mission as accomplished, and would have gone quietly home to her village; for she seems to have remained as simple in feeling as when she left her father's house, and was innocent to the end of any selfish pleasure in the importance she had acquired. But those she had

helped would not let her go; and yet they would not be guided by her without wrangle and resistance.

She wished to move the army straight from Rheims to Paris, and enter that city before it had time to recover from the consternation it was in. But other counselors retarded the march, by stopping to capture small towns on the way, until the opportunity for taking Paris was lost. The king, who had been braced up to a little energy by her influence, sank back into his indolent pleasures, and faction and frivolity possessed the court again. Jeanne strove with high courage against malignant opposition and many disheartenments, in the siege of Paris and after, exposing herself in battle with the bravery of a seasoned warrior; and her reward was to find herself abandoned at last, in a cowardly way, to the enemy, when she had led a sortie from the town of Compiègne, to drive back the duke of Burgundy, who was besieging it. Taken prisoner, she was given up to the duke, and sold by him to the English at Rouen.

Faction and
frivolity
prevail
again

The Maid
taken
prisoner

That the Maid acted with supernatural powers was believed by the English as firmly as by the French; but those powers, in their belief, came, not from heaven, but from hell. In their view she was not a saint, but a sorceress. They paid a high price to the duke of Burgundy for his captive, in order to put her on trial for the witchcraft which they held she had practiced against them, and to destroy her mischievous power. No con-

Burned for
witchcraft
by the
English
A. D. 1431

sideration for her sex, or her youth, or for the beauty and purity of character that is revealed in all the accounts of her trial, moved her judges to compassion. They condemned her remorselessly to the stake, and she was burned on the 31st of May, 1431, with no effort put forth on the part of the French or their ungrateful king to save her from that horrible fate.

The Eng-
lish lose
ground

After this, things went badly with the English, though some years passed before Charles VII. was roused again to any display of capable powers. At last, in 1435, a general conference of all parties in the war was brought about at Arras. The English were offered Normandy and Aquitaine in full sovereignty, but they refused it, and withdrew from the conference when greater concessions were denied. The duke of Burgundy then made terms with King Charles, abandoning the English alliance, and obtaining satisfaction for the murder of his father. Charles was now able, for the first time in his reign, to enter the capital of his kingdom, and it is said that he found it so wasted by a pestilence and so ruined and deserted, that wolves came into the city, and that, two years later, forty persons were devoured by them in a single week.

King
Charles
recovers
Paris

Charles now began to show better qualities than had appeared in his character before. He adopted strong measures to suppress the bands of marauders who harassed and wasted the country, and to bring all armed forces in the kingdom under the control and command of the

Improved
French
forces

crown. He began the creation of a disciplined and regulated militia in France. He called into his service the greatest French merchant of the day, Jacques Cœur, who reorganized the finances of the states, and whose reward, after a few years, was to be prosecuted and plundered by malignant courtiers, while the king looked passively on, as he had looked on at the trial and execution of Jeanne d'Arc.

Jacques
Cœur

In 1449, a fresh attack upon the English in Normandy was begun; and as civil war—the Wars of the Roses—was then at the point of outbreak in England, they could make no effective resistance. Within a year, the whole of Normandy had become obedient again to the rule of the king of France. In two years more Guienne had been recovered, and when, in October, 1453, the French king entered Bordeaux, the English had been expelled from every foot of the realm except Calais and its near neighborhood. The Hundred Years War was at an end.

Final
expulsion
of the
English

End of the
Hundred
Years War
A. D. 1453

Affairs in England

English history is meager in domestic incidents during most of the thirty-one years through which the war in France was protracted after the death of Henry V. The infant king, Henry VI., was represented in France by his elder uncle, the duke of Bedford. In England, the government was carried on for him during his minority by a council, in which his younger uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, occupied the chief place.

Henry VI.,
A. D. 1422-
1461

Margaret
of Anjou

Soon after he came of age, Henry VI. married Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, duke of Anjou, who claimed to be king of Naples and Jerusalem. The marriage, which aimed at peace with France, and which had been brought about by the cession to that country of Maine and Anjou, was unpopular in England. Discontent with the feeble management of the war, and with the general weakness and incapability of the government, grew apace, and showed itself, among other exhibitions, in a rebellion known as Jack Cade's, from the name of an Irishman who got the lead. Jack Cade and his followers took possession of London and held it for three days, yielding at last to an offer of general pardon, after they had beheaded Lord Say, the most obnoxious adviser of the king. A previous mob had taken the head of the earl of Suffolk, who was detested still more as the contriver of the king's marriage, and of the humiliating policy in France.

Jack Cade's
rebellion,
A. D. 1450

Mental
infirmity of
the king

At length, the duke of York, representing an elder line of royal descent from Edward III., took the lead of the discontented in the nation, and civil war was imminent; but pacific counsels prevailed. The king, who had always been weak-minded, and under the influence of the queen, now sank for a time into a state of complete stupor, and was incapable of any act. The lords in parliament thereupon appointed the duke of York Protector of England, and he conducted the government with vigor for a few months, until the king's mind was somewhat restored. The

queen, and the councilors she favored, then regained their control of affairs, and the opposition took arms.

A red rose became the emblem of the Lancastrians, a white rose the emblem of the Yorkists, and this gave a name to the wars.

The red and
white roses

The long series of fierce struggles between these two parties, which is called the Wars of the Roses, began on the 22d of May, 1455, with a battle at St. Albans—the first of two that were fought on the same ground. At the beginning, it was a contest for the possession of the unfortunate, irresponsible king; but, ere long, it became a contest for the crown which Henry wore, and to which the duke of York denied his right. The duke traced his ancestry to one son of Edward III., and King Henry to another son. But the duke's forefather, Lionel, was prior in birth to the king's forefather, John of Gaunt, and, as an original proposition, the house of York was clearly nearer than the house of Lancaster to the royal line which had been interrupted when Richard II. was deposed. The rights of the latter house were such as it had gained by half a century of possession.

Beginning
of the Wars
of the
Roses, A.D.
1455

Gairdner
*The Houses
of York and
Lancaster*

Yorkist
and Lancas-
trian claims

At one time it was decided by the lords that Henry should be king until he died, and that the duke of York and his heirs should succeed him. But Queen Margaret would not yield the rights of her son, and renewed the war. The duke of York was killed in the next battle fought. His son, Edward, continued the contest, and, early in

Edward IV. 1461, having taken possession of London, he was declared king by a council of lords. The Lancastrians were driven from the kingdom, and Edward held the government with little disturbance for eight years. Then a rupture occurred between him and his most powerful supporter, the earl of Warwick (called "the Kingmaker"), who put himself at the head of a rebellion which finally, when Warwick had joined forces with Queen Margaret, drove Edward to flight. The latter took refuge in the Netherlands, where he received protection and assistance from the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law. Henry VI. was now restored to the throne for about six months. At the end of that period Edward landed again in England, with a small force, professing that he came only to demand his dukedom. As soon as he found himself well received and strongly supported, he threw off the mask, resumed the title of king, and advanced to London, where the citizens gave him welcome. A few days later he went out to meet Warwick and defeated and slew him in the fierce battle of Barnet. One more fight at Tewkesbury, where Queen Margaret was taken prisoner, ended the war. King Henry died, suspiciously, in the Tower, on the very night of his victorious rival's return to London, and Edward IV. had all his enemies under his feet.

Edward IV.
declared
king, A. D.
1461

Warwick,
the king-
maker

Henry VI.
restored,
A. D. 1470

Final
triumph of
Edward IV.
A. D. 1471

Germany and the Holy Roman empire

Returning now to Germany, we take up the thread of events in that country at the moment

when Count Henry of Luxemburg was elected to the throne, as Henry VII. He was the first king of Germany since the Hohenstaufens who went to Italy for the crown of Lombardy and the crown of the Cæsars, both of which he received. The Ghibelline party in Italy was still strong. In the distracted state of that country there were many patriots—the poet Dante prominent among them—who hoped great things from the reappearance of an emperor; but the enthusiastic welcome he received was mainly from those furious partisans who looked for a party triumph to be won under the new emperor's lead. When they found that he would not let himself be made an instrument of faction in the unhappy country, they turned against him. His undertakings in Italy promised nothing but failure, when he died suddenly, poisoned, as the Germans believed, from a sacramental cup.

Henry VII.,
king and
emperor,
A. D. 1308-
1313

His death
in Italy

His successor in Germany, chosen by the majority of the electors, was Ludwig, or Lewis, of Bavaria; but Frederick the Fair of Austria, supported by a minority, disputed the election, and there was civil war for twelve years, until Frederick, a prisoner, so won the heart of Ludwig that the latter divided the throne with him and the two reigned together. Peace was not restored by this friendly agreement between Ludwig and Frederick, since the partisans of both were dissatisfied. Frederick was broken in health and retired from the government; in 1330 he died. The Austrian house persisted in hostility to

Civil war

Ludwig and
Frederick

Ludwig; but his more formidable enemies were the pope and the king of France.

The period was that known in papal history as "the Babylonish captivity," when the popes resided at Avignon and were generally creatures of the French court, subservient to its ambitions or its animosities. Philip of Valois, who now reigned in France, aspired to the imperial crown, which the head of the church had conferred on the German kings, and which the same supreme pontiff might claim authority to transfer to the sovereigns of France. This is supposed to have been the secret of the relentless hostility with which Ludwig was pursued by the papacy—himself excommunicated, his kingdom placed under interdict, and every effort made to bring about his deposition by the princes of Germany. But, divided and depressed as the Germans were, they revolted against these malevolent pretensions of the popes, and in 1338 the electoral princes issued a bold declaration, asserting the sufficiency of the act of election to confer imperial dignity and power, and denying the necessity for any papal confirmation whatever. Had Ludwig been a commanding leader, and independent of the papacy in his own feelings, it is probable that he could have rallied a national sentiment on this issue which might have had great effects. But he lacked the needful character, and his troubles continued till he died.

A year before the death of Ludwig his opponents had elected and put forward a rival king,

Charles, the son of King John of Bohemia. Charles (IV.) was subsequently recognized as king without dispute, and secured the imperial crown. "It may be affirmed with truth," says Dr. Döllinger, "that the genuine ancient empire, which contained a German kingdom, came to an end with the emperor Ludwig the Bavarian. None strove again after his death to restore the imperial power. The golden bull of his successor Charles IV. sealed the fate of the old empire. Through it, and indeed through the entire conduct of Charles IV., king of Bohemia as he really was, and emperor scarcely more than in name, the imperial government passed more and more into the hands of the prince-electors, who came to regard the emperor no longer as their master, but as the president of an assembly in which he shared the power with themselves." "From the time of Charles IV. the main object and chief occupation of the emperors was not the empire, but the aggrandizement and security of their own house. The empire served only as the means and instrument of their purpose."

Charles IV.,
A. D. 1347-
1378

Decline of
imperial
power

Döllinger,
*Studies in
European
History*,
137-8

The golden bull referred to by Dr. Döllinger was an instrument which became the constitution, so to speak, of the Holy Roman or Germanic empire. It prescribed the mode of the election of the king, and definitely named the seven electors. It conferred certain special powers and privileges on these seven princes, which raised them much above their fellows and gave them an independence that may be said to have destroyed every

The "golden
bull" of
Charles IV.,
A. D. 1356

hope of Germanic unity. This was the one mark which the reign of Charles IV. left upon the empire. His exertions as emperor were all directed to the aggrandizement of his own family, and with not much lasting result. In his own kingdom of Bohemia he ruled with better effect. He made its capital, Prague, an important city, adorning it with noble buildings and founding the most ancient of German universities. This university of Prague sowed seeds from which sprang the first movement of religious reformation in Germany.

The Uni-
versity of
Prague,
A. D. 1348

Wenceslaus
A. D. 1378-
1400

Charles IV. was succeeded by his son Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, on the imperial as well as the Bohemian throne. Wenceslaus neglected both the empire and the kingdom, and the confusion of things in Germany grew worse. Some of the principal cities continued to secure considerable freedom and prosperity for themselves, by the combined efforts of their leagues; but everywhere else great disorder and oppression prevailed. It was at this time that the Swabian towns, to the number of forty-one, formed a union and waged unsuccessful war with a league which the nobles entered into against them. They were defeated, and crushingly dealt with by the emperor.

Swabian
union

In 1400 Wenceslaus was deposed and Rupert of the Palatinate was elected, producing another civil war, and reducing the imperial government to a complete nullity. Rupert died in 1410, and, after some contention, Sigmund, or Sigismund,

brother of Wenceslaus, was raised to the throne. He was margrave of Brandenburg and king of Hungary, and would become king of Bohemia when Wenceslaus died.

Reformation of Huss in Bohemia

Bohemia was about to become the scene of an extraordinary religious agitation, which John Huss, teacher and preacher in the new but already famous university of Prague, was beginning to stir. Huss, who drew his inspiration largely from Wiclif, anticipated Luther in the boldness of his attacks upon iniquities in the church. In his case, as in Luther's, what he could not endure was the sale of papal indulgences; and it was by his denunciation of that iniquity that he drew on himself the wrath of Rome. He was summoned before the great council of the church which opened at Constance in 1414. He obeyed the summons and went to the council, bearing a safe-conduct from the emperor, which pledged protection to him until he returned. Notwithstanding this imperial pledge, he was imprisoned for seven months at Constance and then condemned to the stake. On the 6th of July, 1415, he was burned. In the following May, his friend and disciple, Jerome of Prague, suffered the same martyrdom. The emperor, Sigismund, blustered a little at the insolent violation of his safe-conduct; but dared do nothing to make his resentment felt.

Huss
burned at
the stake,
A. D. 1415

In Bohemia, the excitement produced by these outrages was universal. The whole nation

Bohemian
revolt,
A. D. 1419

John Ziska

Taborites
and Utra-
quists

seemed to rise, in the first widespread aggressive revolt that the church of Rome had been called upon to face. In 1419 there was an armed assembly of 40,000 men, on a mountain which they called Tabor, who placed themselves under the leadership of John Ziska, a nobleman, one of Huss' friends. The followers of Ziska soon displayed a violence and a radicalism which repelled the more moderate Hussites, or reformers, and two parties appeared, one known as the Taborites, the other as the Calixtines, or Utraquists. The former insisted on entire separation from the church of Rome; the latter confined their demands to four reforms, namely: Free preaching of the Word of God; the giving of the eucharistic cup to the laity; the taking of secular powers and of worldly goods from the clergy; the enforcing of Christian discipline by all authorities. So much stress was laid by the Calixtines on their claim to the chalice or cup (communion in both kinds) that it gave them their name. The breach between these parties widened until they were as hostile to each other as to the Catholics, and the Bohemian reform movement was ruined by their division in the end.

Fifteen
years of
civil war,
A. D. 1419-
1434

In 1419, the deposed emperor Wenceslaus, who had still retained his kingdom of Bohemia, was murdered in his palace, at Prague. His brother, the emperor Sigismund, was his heir; but the Hussites refused the crown to him, and resisted his pretensions with arms. This added a political conflict to the religious one, and Bohemia was

afflicted with a frightful civil war for fifteen years. Ziska fortified Mount Tabor and took possession of Prague. The emperor and the pope allied themselves, to crush an insurrection which was aimed against both. They summoned Christendom to a new crusade, and Sigismund led 100,000 men against Prague, in 1420. Ziska met him and defeated him, and drove him, with his crusaders, from the country. The Taborites were now maddened by their success, and raged over the land, destroying convents and burning priests. Their doctrines, moreover, began to take on a socialistic and republican character, and the well-to-do, conservative classes were more and more repelled.

Crusade
against the
Hussites

In 1421 a second crusading army, 200,000 strong, invaded Bohemia and was scattered like chaff by Ziska (now blind) and his peasant soldiery. The next year they defeated the emperor again; but in 1424 Ziska died, and a priest called Procopius the Great took his place. Under their new leader, the fierce Taborites were as invincible as they had been under Ziska. They routed an imperial army in 1426, and then carried the war into Austria and Silesia, committing fearful ravages. Still another crusade was set in motion against them by the pope, and still another disastrous failure was made of it. Then Germany again suffered a more frightful visitation from the vengeful Hussites than before. Towns and villages were destroyed by hundreds, and wide tracks of ruin and death were marked

Procopius
the Great

Germany
ravaged by
the Hus-
sites, A. D.
1426-1431

on the face of the land. Once more, and for the last time, in 1431, the Germans rallied a great force to retaliate these attacks, and suffered the most disastrous of their defeats.

A religious
compro-
mise, A. D.
1433

Terms
refused by
the Tabor-
ites

Then the pope and the emperor gave up hope of putting down the indomitable revolutionists by force. The pope called a council at Basel for the discussion of questions with the Hussites, and, finally, in 1433, their moderate party was prevailed upon to accept a compromise which really conceded nothing to them except the use of the cup in communion. The Taborites refused the terms, and the two parties grappled each other in a fierce struggle for the control of the state. But the extremists had lost much of their old strength, and the Utraquists vanquished them in a battle at Lipan, in May, 1434. Two years later Sigismund was acknowledged king of Bohemia and received in Prague. In 1437 he died. His son-in-law, Albert of Austria, who succeeded him, lived but two years, and the heir to the throne then was a son, Ladislaus, born after his father's death. This left Bohemia in a state of great confusion and disorder for several years, until a strong man, George Podiebrad, acquired the control of affairs.

Meantime, the Utraquists had organized a national church of Bohemia, considerably divergent from Rome. It failed to satisfy the deeper religious feelings that were current among the Bohemians in that age, and there grew up a sect which took the name of "Unitas Fratrum," or

"Unity of the Brethren," but which became known incorrectly as the Moravian Brethren. This sect, still existing, has borne an important part in the missionary history of the Christian world.

Origin of the "Unitas Fratrum" ("Moravian Brethren")

Italy and the Church

The papacy, at the time of its conflict with the Hussites, in Bohemia, was sinking rapidly to that lowest level of debasement which it reached in the later part of the fifteenth century. Its state was not yet so abhorrent as it came to be under the Borgias; but it had been brought even more into contempt, perhaps, by the divisions and contentions of "the great schism." The so-called "Babylonish captivity" of the series of popes who resided for seventy years at Avignon, and who were under French influence, had been humiliating to the church; but the schism which followed, when a succession of rival popes, or popes and antipopes, thundered anathemas and excommunications at one another, from Rome and from Avignon, was more scandalous still. Christendom was divided by the quarrel. France, Spain, Scotland, and some lesser states, gave their allegiance to the pope at Avignon; England, Germany and the northern kingdoms adhered to the pope at Rome.

The "Babylonish captivity," A. D. 1305-1376

The "Great Schism," A. D. 1378-1417

Pastor, *History of the Popes*, b'k I

In 1402, an attempt to heal the schism was made by a general council of the church convened at Pisa. It decreed the deposition of both the contending pontiffs, and elected a third; but its authority was not recognized, and the confusion

The Council of Constance,
A. D. 1414-1418

of the church was only made worse by bringing three popes into the quarrel instead of two. Twelve years later, another council, held at Constance,—the same which burned Huss,—had more success. Europe had now grown so tired of the scandal, and so disgusted with the three pretenders to spiritual supremacy, that the action of the council was backed by public opinion, and they were suppressed. A fourth pope, Martin V., whom the council then seated in the chair of St. Peter, was acknowledged universally, and the great schism was at an end.

Council of Basel, A.D. 1431-1449

But other scandals and abuses in the church, which public opinion in Europe had begun to cry loudly against, were left untouched. A subsequent council at Basel, which met in 1431, attempted some restraints upon papal extortion (ignoring the more serious moral evils that claimed attention); but was beaten in the conflict with Pope Eugenius IV. which this action brought on, and its decrees lost all effect. So the religious autocracy at Rome, sinking stage by stage below the worst secular courts of the time, continued without check to insult and outrage, more and more, the piety, the common sense, and the decent feeling of Christendom, until, in a large part of Europe, the habit of reverence was quite worn out in the minds of men.

The city of Rome

The city of Rome had fallen from all greatness of its own when it came to be dependent on the fortunes of the popes. Their departure to Avignon had reduced it to a lamentable state.

They took with them, in reality, the sustenance of the city; for it lived, in the main, on the revenues of the papacy, and knew little of commerce beyond the profitable traffic in indulgences, absolutions, benefices, relics and papal blessings, which went to Avignon with the head of the church. Authority, too, departed with the pope, and the wretched city was given up to anarchy almost uncontrolled. A number of powerful families—the Colonna, the Orsini, and others—perpetually at strife with one another, fought out their feuds in the streets, and abused and oppressed their neighbors with impunity. Their houses were impregnable castles, and their retainers were a formidable army.

Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, bk. 11, ch. v-vii (v. 6)

Anarchy uncontrolled

It was while this state of things was at its worst that the famous Cola di Rienzi, "last of the tribunes," accomplished an extraordinary revolution. He roused the people to action against their oppressors and the disturbers of their peace. He appealed to them to restore the republican institutions of ancient Rome, and when they responded, in 1347, by conferring on him the title and authority of a tribune, he succeeded in expelling the turbulent nobles, or reducing them to submission, and established in Rome, for a little time, what he called "the Good Estate." But his head was turned by his success; he was inflated with conceit and vanity; he became arrogant and despotic; the people tired of him, and, after a few months of rule, he was driven from Rome. In 1354 he came back as a senator,

Rienzi, "last of the tribunes," A. D. 1347-1354

Brevity of his "Good Estate"

His fall and
death

appointed by the pope, who thought to use him for the restoration of papal authority; but his influence was gone, and he was slain by a riotous mob.

Return of
the pope to
Rome,
A. D. 1376

The return of the pope to Rome in 1376 was an event so long and so ardently desired by the Roman people that they submitted themselves eagerly to his government. But his sovereignty over the states of the church was lost, substantially, and the regaining of it was the principal object of the exertions of the popes for a long period afterward.

The Two
Sicilies

The Sicilian
Vespers,
A. D. 1282

In southern Italy and Sicily, since the fall of the Hohenstaufens, the times had been continuously evil. The rule of the French conqueror, Charles of Anjou, was hard and unmerciful, and the power he established became threatening to the papacy, which gave the kingdom to him. Sicily freed itself, by the savage massacre of Frenchmen which bears the name of the Sicilian Vespers. The king of Aragon, Peter III., whose queen was the Hohenstaufen heiress, supported the insurrection vigorously, took possession of the island, and was recognized by the people as their king. A war of twenty years' duration ensued. Both Charles and Peter died and their sons continued the battle. In the end, the Angevin house held the mainland, as a separate kingdom, with Naples for its capital, and a younger branch of the royal family of Aragon reigned in the island. But both sovereigns called themselves kings of Sicily, so that history, ever since, has been forced

to speak puzzlingly of "Two Sicilies." For convenience it seems best to distinguish them, by calling one the kingdom of Naples and the other the kingdom of Sicily.

On the Neapolitan throne there came one estimable prince, in Robert, who was a friend of peace and a patron of letters and arts. But after him the throne was befouled by crimes and vices, and the kingdom was made miserable by civil wars. His grand-daughter Joanna, or Jane, succeeded him. Robert's elder brother Caribert had become king of Hungary, and Joanna now married one of that king's sons—her cousin Andrew. At the end of two years he was murdered, and the queen, a notoriously vicious woman, was accused of the crime. Andrew's brother, Louis, who had succeeded to the throne in Hungary, invaded Naples to avenge his death, and Joanna was driven to flight. The country then suffered from the worst form of civil war—a war carried on by the hireling ruffians of the "free companies" who roamed about Italy in that age, selling their swords to the highest bidders.

A. D. 1309-
1343

Joanna I.,
A. D. 1343-
1382

Free com-
panies

In 1351 a peace was brought about which restored Joanna to the throne. The Hungarian king's son, known as Charles of Durazzo, was her recognized heir, but she saw fit to disinherit him and adopt Louis, of the second house of Anjou, brother of Charles V. in France. Charles of Durazzo invaded Naples, took the queen prisoner and put her to death. Louis of Anjou attempted to displace him, but failed. In 1383 Louis died,

Fresh rival-
ries and
continued
civil war

leaving his claims to his son. Charles of Durazzo was called to Hungary, after a time, to take the crown of that kingdom, and left his young son, Ladislaus, on the Neapolitan throne. The Angevin claimant, Louis II., was then called in by his partisans, and civil war was renewed for years. When Ladislaus reached manhood he succeeded in expelling Louis, and he held the kingdom until his death, in 1414.

Joanna II.,
A. D. 1414-
1435

Ladislaus was succeeded by his sister, Joanna II., who proved to be as wicked and dissolute a woman as her predecessor of the same name. She incurred the enmity of the pope, who persuaded Louis III., son of Louis II., to renew the claims of his house. The most renowned "condottiere" (or military contractor, as the term might be translated), of the day, Attendolo Sforza, was engaged to make war on Queen Joanna in the interest of Louis. On her side she obtained a champion by promising her dominions to Alfonso V., of Aragon and Sicily. The struggle went on for years, with varying fortunes. The fickle and treacherous Joanna revoked her adoption of Alfonso, after a time, and made Louis her heir. When Louis died, she bequeathed her crown to his brother René, duke of Lorraine. Her death occurred in 1435, but still the war continued, and nearly all Italy was involved in it, taking one side or the other. Alfonso succeeded at last in establishing himself at Naples, and René practically gave up the contest, although he kept the title of king of Naples. He was the

Sforza, the
condottiere

The titular
King René

father of the famous English Queen Margaret of Anjou, who fought for her weak-minded husband and her son in the Wars of the Roses.

While the Neapolitan kingdom was passing through these endless miseries of anarchy, civil war, and evil government, the Sicilian kingdom enjoyed a more peaceful and prosperous existence. The crown, held briefly by a cadet branch of the house of Aragon, was soon reunited to that of Aragon; and, under Alfonso, as we have seen, it was joined once more with that of Naples, in a "kingdom of the Two Sicilies." But both these unions were dissolved on the death of Alfonso, who bequeathed Aragon and Sicily to his legitimate heir, and Naples to a bastard son.

The Sicilian
kingdom

In northern Italy a great change in the political state of many among the formerly free commonwealths had been going on. The experience of the Greek city-republics had been repeated in them. In one way and another, they had fallen under the domination of powerful families, which had established a despotic rule, sometimes gathering several cities and their surrounding territory into a considerable dominion, and obtaining from the emperor or the pope an hereditary title, formally conferred. Thus the Visconti had established themselves at Milan, and had become a ducal house. After a few generations they gave way to the military adventurer, Francesco Sforza, son of the Sforza who made war for Louis III. of Anjou on Joanna II. of Naples. In Verona, the Della Scala family reigned for a time, until Venice over-

Rise of the
despots in
northern
Italy

Symonds,
*Renaissance in
Italy: Age
of the
Despots*

The
Visconti

Sforza

Della
Scalas

came them; at Modena and Ferrara, the Estes; at Mantua, the Gonzagas; at Padua, the Carraras.

Estes
Gonzagas
Carraras

In other cities the political changes were of a different kind. Venice, as we have seen, had fallen under the control of a haughty oligarchy, which ruled with an iron hand, but so shrewdly in the conduct of foreign and commercial affairs that the aristocratic republic had no important rivals left. She held large possessions in the east, and was acquiring an extensive dominion on the Italian mainland.

Venice

The Genoese had preserved their democracy, but were troubled by a nobility which could only be turbulent and could not control. They had lost their long fight with the Venetians, and were several times in subjection to the dukes of Milan and the kings of France.

Genoa

Pisa, which had led both Venice and Genoa in the commercial race at the beginning, was ruined by her wars with the latter, and with Florence, and sank, in the fourteenth century, under the rule of the Visconti, who sold their rights to the Florentines.

Pisa

In 1378 the members of the lesser arts in Florence—that is, the commoner working men—rose in a revolt, called “the tumult of the ciompi,” or wool-carders, which swept away the distinction between greater and lesser gilds. The resulting state of things prepared the city for a reactionary revolution that brought an oligarchy into power; and the oligarchy made smooth the way for a

Florence

“Tumult of
the ciompi”
A. D. 1378

Trollope,
*History of
the Com-
monwealth
of Florence*,
bk. 4, ch. i-
iii (v. 2)

single family of great wealth and popular gifts and graces to rise to supremacy in the state.

This was the renowned family which began to rule in Florence in 1435, when Cosimo de' Medici entered on the office of gonfaloniere. The Medici were not despots of the class of the Visconti, or the Sforzas, or the Estes. They governed under the old constitutional forms, with not much violation of anything except the spirit of them. They acquired no princely title, until the late, declining days of the house. Their power rested on influence and prestige, at first, and on habit at the last. They developed, and enlisted in their own support, as something reflected from themselves, the pride of the city in itself,—in its magnificence,—in its great and liberal wealth,—in its patronage of letters and art,—in its fame abroad and the admiration it won.

Rise of the
Medici

The Swiss Confederacy

The three cantons of Switzerland which are known distinctively as the Forest Cantons, namely, Schwytz (which gave its name in time to the whole country), Uri, and Unterwalden, had stood in peculiar relations to the Hapsburg family since long before Rudolph became emperor and his house became the house of Austria. In those cantons, the territorial rights were held mostly by great monasteries, and the counts of Hapsburg, for generations, had served the abbots and abbesses in the capacity of advocates, or champions, to rule their vassals and to defend

The "forest
cantons"
and the
Hapsburgs

Dändliker,
Short
History of
Switzer-
land, 26-69

their rights. Authority of their own in the cantons they had none. At the same time, the functions they performed developed ideas in their minds, without doubt, which grew naturally into pretensions that were offensive to the bold mountaineers.

League of
the three
cantons,
A. D. 1291

Battle of
Morgarten,
A. D. 1315

On the other hand, the circumstances of the situation were calculated to breed notions and feelings of independence among the men of the mountains. They gave their allegiance to the emperor—to the high sovereign who ruled over all, in the name of Rome—and they opposed what came between them and him. It is manifest that a threatening complication for them arose when the count of Hapsburg became emperor. They had no serious difficulty with Rudolph, in his day, but they wisely prepared themselves for what might come, by forming, or by renewing, in 1291, a league of the three cantons,—the beginning and nucleus of the Swiss confederation, which has maintained its independence and its freedom from that day to this. The league of 1291 had existed something more than twenty years when the confederated cantons were called upon to stand together, for the first time, in resistance to the Austrian claims. This occurred during the war between Ludwig and Frederick, when Leopold, duke of Austria, invaded the forest cantons and was beaten disastrously in a fight at the pass of Morgarten. The victory of the confederates gave them so much prestige that neighboring cities and cantons sought admission

to their league. In 1332 Luzern was received as a member; in 1351, 1352, and 1353, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Bern came in, increasing the membership to eight. It took the name of the Old League of High Germany, and its members were known as eidgenossen, or confederates.

The Old
League of
High Ger-
many

Such, in brief, are the ascertained facts of the origin of the Swiss confederacy. There is nothing found in authentic history to substantiate the popular legend of William Tell.

The doubt-
ful legend
of William
Tell

The questions between the league and the Austrian princes, which continued to be troublesome for two generations, were ended practically by the two battles of Sempach and Naefels, in both of which the Austrians were overthrown.

A. D. 1386,
1388

The Eastern empire and the Ottoman Turks

So little occasion has arisen for any mention of the lingering eastern empire, since Michael Palæologus, the Greek, recovered Constantinople from the Franks, that its existence might easily be forgotten. It had no importance until it fell, and then it loomed large again, in history, not only by the tragic impression of its fall upon the imaginations of men, but by the consequences that ensued.

(See pages
446, 471)

For nearly two hundred years, the successors of Palæologus, still calling themselves "emperors of the Romans," and ruling a little Thracian and Macedonian corner of the old dominion of the eastern cæsars, together with their Nicæan domain in Asia Minor, struggled with a new race of Turks.

The Koras-
mian
empire

The Seldjuk domination in western Asia had been supplanted in the later part of the twelfth century by another Turkish power, founded, like so many in that age and region, by one who began service in public affairs as a slave. Its seat was in the fertile district on the Oxus, surrounding modern Khiva, which the Greeks named Chorasnia and the Arabs had called Khuarezm. From this original dominion the Khuarezmian or Korasmian rulers extended their conquests until most of Persia, Afghanistan and Bokhara were under their yoke. But their empire was brief; for it vanished in 1220, when the Mongols in their terrible march reached it and passed over it to conquests beyond. One body of the scattered Korasmian forces went into the service of a Seldjuk prince who styled himself Sultan of Iconium, being established in a small dominion in Asia Minor (the Lycaonia of the ancients), north of the Taurus range. From the commanders of these troops there rose a leader, Orthogrul by name, who was able, in the confusions of the time, to acquire an independent authority in his own camp, which passed to his son, Othman, or Osman, and the latter is looked upon as the founder of the Turkish sovereignty that bears his name,—the Ottoman empire, existing to this day.

Othman,
founder
of the
Ottoman
empire,
died A. D.
1326

Late in the thirteenth century Othman began attacks upon the neighboring territories of the Greek dominion in Asia Minor, still held by the emperors who had recovered Constantinople and returned to it from their transient capital at

Nicæa. Gradually he gained a firm footing in the Greek domain, increased his forces, and became a recognized emir or prince. His son Orkhan, who succeeded him, pursued the same course with more rapidity, and Nicæa, the Asiatic capital of the Greek emperor, was surrendered to him in the fourth year of his reign. Within his first ten years he acquired a substantial empire, covering nearly the whole northwest of Asia Minor; then he occupied himself for twenty years in well-planned measures for organizing its government and establishing the Mohammedan faith. Before his death, one of his sons had crossed the Hellespont and opened the career of the Turks upon European ground.

Orkhan,
A. D. 1326-
1359

“Orkhan began one institution which did more than anything else firmly to establish the Ottoman power. This was the institution of the tribute children. By the law of Mahomet . . . the unbeliever is allowed to purchase life, property, and the exercise of his religion, by the payment of tribute. Earlier Mahometan rulers had been satisfied with tribute in the ordinary sense. Orkhan first demanded a tribute of children. The deepest of wrongs, that which other tyrants did as an occasional outrage, thus became under the Ottomans a settled law. A fixed proportion of the strongest and most promising boys among the conquered Christian nations were carried off for the service of the Ottoman princes. They were brought up in the Mahometan faith, and were employed in civil or military functions,

Institution
of the
Janissaries

according to their capacity. Out of them was formed the famous force of the Janissaries, the new soldiers who, for three centuries, as long as they were levied in this way, formed the strength of the Ottoman armies. These children, torn from their homes, and cut off from every domestic and national tie, knew only the religion and the service into which they were forced, and formed a body of troops such as no other power, Christian or Mahometan, could command. . . . But all this shows how far the Ottomans were from being a national power. . . . The Ottoman power, in short, was the power, not of a nation, but simply of an army."

Freeman,
*The Ottoman Power
in Europe*,
ch. iv

Turkish Invasion of Europe

Amurath I.,
A. D. 1359-
1389

The first permanent footing of the Turks in Europe was won by Orkhan's son and successor, Amurath I., who captured Adrianople in 1361 and made it his capital. Constantinople he did not venture to attack. The fortifications of the city were too strong; but beyond its walls there was no strength in the little fragment of Christian empire that remained. It appealed vainly to western Europe for help. It sought to make terms with the church of Rome. Nothing saved it for the moment but the evident disposition of the Turk to regard it as fruit which would drop to his hand in due time, and which he might safely leave waiting while he turned his arms against its more formidable neighbors. He contented himself with exacting tribute from the

emperors, and humiliating them by commands which they dared not disobey. In the Servians, the Bosnians, and the Bulgarians, Amurath found worthier foes.

The Servians and Bosnians were ancestors of the peoples still inhabiting the countries which bear their names. Together with the Croats and other Slavonic peoples, they came into the north-western parts of the Balkan peninsula in the seventh century, having been driven from their previous homes in western Russia by the invasion of the Avars. For a considerable period they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperors, but had cast it off some centuries before the coming of the Turks. Servia was ruled by a prince who bore the title of grand shupane, and whom Pope Gregory VII. saluted as king.

Servians
and
Bosnians

The Bulgarians, who gave their name to the Bulgaria of our own day, were a people of the Asiatic race to which the Turks belong, and which sent so many swarms of nomads into western Asia and eastern Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. But most of the original Bulgarians appear to have been extinguished in bloody wars with the Byzantine empire, or absorbed by the prior inhabitants of their Thracian or Wallachian country and by Slavonic intruders in it; so that they are scarcely represented by the Bulgarians of the present time. Three Bulgarian kingdoms existed before the conquest of the country by the Turks.

Bulgarians

To oppose the advance of the Turks the princes

Struggle of
the Balkan
peoples
with the
Turks

of Servia, Bosnia and Wallach-Bulgaria leagued with the king of Hungary, and their united forces marched toward Adrianople in 1363. They were met at the river Marizza, and suffered there their first defeat. Amurath proceeded in his acquisition of towns and territory from the Servians and Bulgarians until 1376, when both people purchased a short peace, the former by paying a heavy annual tribute of money and soldiers, the latter by giving their king's daughter to the Turk. The peace secured only gave an opportunity to the Slavic nations to organize one more great attempt to cast out their aggressive and dangerous neighbor. Servia led the movement, and was joined in it by the Bulgarians, the Bosnians, and the Skipetars of Albania, with aid promised and rendered from Hungary, Wallachia and Poland. But nothing prospered in the undertaking; it served the ambition of the Turks and quickened their conquest of southeastern Europe. Amurath fell upon Bulgaria first, broke down all resistance, dethroned the king and annexed his state to the Ottoman dominions. A few weeks later in the same year, on the 27th of August, the great and famous battle of Kossova was fought, which laid the heavy yoke of Turkish tyranny upon the necks of the Servian people, and the memory of which has been embalmed in their literature. Amurath was assassinated in the hour of victory by a despairing Servian nobleman, but lived long enough to command the execution of the captive Servian king.

Conquest
of Bulgaria
and Servia,
A. D. 1389

Battle of
Kossova

Amurath's son, Bajazet, who now mounted the Turkish throne, and who took the title of sultan, pushed his invasions beyond the Danube, and western Europe, at last, became alarmed. German and French knights in large numbers came to the help of Sigismund, the Hungarian king. They came only to perish, in an awful battle fought at Nicopolis; few escaped. All that saved Hungary then from immediate conquest, it seems, was a painful illness that disabled the sultan or distracted his mind. Six years later, while preparing to lay siege to Constantinople, he was summoned to defend his dominions in Asia Minor against a fresh outswarming of Tatars or Mongols, more appalling than that of Genghis Khan.

Bajazet,
A. D. 1389-
1402

Invasion of
Hungary

Battle of
Nicopolis,
A. D. 1396

Timour, and the new outburst of Mongols

The leader of the Mongols in their new career of conquest was the tigerish man-slayer known best as "Timour the Tartar," or Tamarlane. On his mother's side he was a descendant of Genghis Khan; but he owed the ascendancy he acquired over the tribes in the region of Samarkand—near which he was born in 1336—to his dominating nature, more than to the royal blood in his veins. At the age of thirty-five he was proclaimed khan by a host of warriors, and declared his intention to subjugate the whole earth. In the first sixteen years of his career he overran most of Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Sistan. Then he rested for a time at his capital, Samarkand.

Timour,
A. D. 1336-
1405

First years
of his career

Conquests
in western
Asia, A.D.
1392-1397

Taking the field again in 1389, he turned his arms northward and shattered the famous "golden horde," of the khanate of Kiptchak, which dominated a large part of Russia. In 1392-93 the Tatar conqueror completed the subjugation of Persia and Mesopotamia, extinguishing the decayed Mongol empire of the Ilkhans, and piling up a pyramid of 90,000 human heads on the ruins of Bagdad, the old capital of Islam. Thence he pursued his career of slaughter through Armenia and Georgia, and finished his campaign of five years by a last destroying blow struck at the Kiptchak khan, whom he is said to have pursued as far as Moscow.

Timour's
conquests
in India,
A. D. 1398-
1399

Once more, at Samarkand, the red-handed, invincible savage then gave himself up to orgies of pleasure-making; but it was not for many months. His eyes were now on India, and two years were spent by him in carrying death and desolation through the Punjab, and to the city of Delhi, which suffered horribly at his hands. No permanent conquest was achieved; the plunder and the pleasure of slaughter were the ends of the campaign.

Timour's
attack upon
the Turks,
A. D. 1402-
1404

A more serious purpose directed the next movement of Timour's arms, which were turned against the rival Turk of Asia Minor, or Roum—the Ottoman, Bajazet, who boasted of the conquest of the Roman empire of the east. In 1402, Bajazet hastened into Asia to defend his realm. On the 20th of July in that year, on the plain of Angora, he met the enormous hosts of Timour and

was overwhelmed by them—his kingdom lost, himself a captive. The merciless Tatar hordes swept hapless Anatolia with a besom of destruction and death. Nicæa, Prusa and other cities were sacked. Smyrna provoked the Tatar savage by an obstinate defense and was doomed to the sword, without mercy for age or sex. Even then, the customary pyramid of heads which he built on the site was not large enough to satisfy his eye and he increased its height by alternate layers of mud. Aleppo, Damascus, and other cities of Syria had been dealt with in like manner the year before. When satiated with blood, he returned to Samarkand in 1404, rested there until January, 1405, and then set out upon an expedition to China; but he died on the way. His empire was soon broken in pieces.

Captivity
of Bajazet

Death of
Timour,
A. D. 1405

China and Japan

Even before the new career of Mongol conquest in western Asia had been begun by Timour, the Mongol or Yuen dynasty in China had been overthrown, and native rulers restored to the imperial throne. After the death of Kublai Khan, in 1294, the vigor and ability of the Mongol government underwent a rapid decline. "Not one of his descendants or successors seemed capable of reviving the earlier glories of the family. Possessing, almost to the end of their struggle with the numerous champions of Chinese liberty, the best army in the country, their own divisions and incapacity as rulers prevented their turning this superiority to any advantage." The liberator of

Boulger,
*History of
China*,
I : 399

Choo Yuen
Chang

China who accomplished their overthrow was a remarkable man, Choo Yuen Chang, who began life as a priest. Quitting a monastery and entering the army, he rose to military leadership by sheer force of his own superior powers. Slowly but steadily expelling the Mongols from city after city and province after province, he assailed Peking, the capital, at last, in 1367, took it by storm, drove the reigning emperor to flight, and mounted his throne, with what seems to have been a national consent.

Overthrow
of the Mon-
gol dynasty

Hongwou,
A. D. 1367-
1398

As emperor, Choo took the name of Hongwou, and the dynasty that he founded is known as the Ming, or "Bright." Throughout his reign he had to contend with resisting bodies of Mongols in different parts of the empire, and to be at war with hostile hordes of the same race on its frontiers, but his government was unshaken,—the rule of the Mongols in China was at an end. He died in 1398, in his seventy-first year, leaving a memory that is revered to this day. "The virtue of the man was just as conspicuous in his daily life as king, as his courage, fortitude and military capacity had been as a popular and national leader in the dark days of Mongol despotism." "Even now, it is asserted, the Chinese look back with secret longing to their favorite Ming dynasty, and the virtues and achievements of Hongwou form the basis of its fame."

The Ming
dynasty

Boulger,
*History of
China*,
I : 430

The Ming dynasty was in possession of the throne for two hundred and seventy-six years, a

period of many vicissitudes, of many departures from the wise and virtuous spirit of Hongwou's government, and, finally, of a sadly ending struggle with descendants of the old Manchu conquerors of northern China, the Kins.

The Hojo regency in Japan was overthrown in 1333, and there seemed a possibility that the actual sovereignty of the mikado might be restored; but if the opportunity existed it was thrown away. The mikado of the time, taking an unfortunate part in feuds that arose, was driven from Kyoto, his capital, and a rival emperor was seated on his throne. For sixty years thereafter Japan was a divided empire, torn by wars between a northern and a southern court. At the northern court, which triumphed in the end, the shogunate had been reëstablished in full supremacy by a powerful family, the Ashikagas, who continued in possession of that office for more than a century and a half. Power slipped, however, from the shoguns, as it had slipped from the mikados; they became ciphers, in the later years of the Ashikagas, and very nearly independent authority was acquired by various local lords.

End of the
Hojo regen-
cy in Japan
A. D. 1333

The Ashi-
kagas

Depression and Recovery of the Ottoman Turks

The Turkish sultan Bajazet, captured and caged, it is said, by his savage conqueror, died soon, and the Ottoman Turks were paralyzed by a disputed succession for a number of years. It is one of the marvels of history that their empire,

broken and dismembered by Timour, recovered its vigor and reëntered upon a long career. After the fall of Bajazet, three fragments of his dominions were held by three of his surviving sons, while other portions were transferred by Timour to princes of the old Seldjuk house. Civil war broke out between the brothers of the Ottoman race; it resulted in the triumph of the youngest, who reunited a large part of the dominions of his father. He reigned but eight years, which were years of peace for the Greeks. His son, Amurath II., was provoked to renew the state of war, and a formidable attack upon Constantinople was made in August, 1422. The first assault failed, and disturbances at home recalled Amurath before he could repeat it. The Roman capital was reprieved for thirty years; but its trembling emperor paid tribute to the sultan and yielded most of the few cities that remained to him outside of his capital. The Ottoman power had become threatening again in Europe, and Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, Wallachians, Hungarians and Poles now began the long heroic struggle of which Hungary became the principal field.

Mohammed I.,
A.D.
1413-1421

Amurath
II., A.D.
1421-1451

Turkish
power
threatening
again

Hungary
the field of
struggle

The original line of kings of Hungary having died out in 1301, the influence of the pope, who claimed the kingdom as a fief of the papal see, secured the election to the throne of Charles Robert, or Caribert, of the Naples branch of the house of Anjou. He and his son Louis, called the Great, raised the kingdom to notable importance and power. Louis added the crown of Poland to

that of Hungary, and on his death, leaving two daughters, the Polish crown passed to the husband of one and the Hungarian crown to the husband of the other. This latter was Sigismund of Luxemburg, who afterward became emperor, and also king of Bohemia.

Under Sigismund, Hungary was threatened on one side by the Turks, and ravaged on the other by the Hussites of Bohemia. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, who lived only two years, and the latter was followed by Ladislaus, king of Poland, who reunited the two crowns, though at the cost of a distracting civil war. It was in the reign of this prince that the Turks began their obstinate attacks on Hungary, and thenceforth, for two centuries and more, that afflicted country served Christendom as a battered bulwark which the new warriors of Islam could beat and disfigure, but could not break down.

A. D. 1437

The Turkish attack

The hero of these first Hungarian wars with the Turks was John Huniades, or Hunyady, a Wallachian, who fought them with success until a peace was concluded in 1444. But King Ladislaus was persuaded the same year by a papal agent to break the treaty and to lead an expedition against the enemy's lines. The result was a calamitous defeat, the death of the king, and the almost total destruction of his army. Huniades now became regent of the kingdom, during the minority of the late King Albert's young son, Ladislaus. He suffered one serious defeat at the

John Huniades

A. D. 1456

hands of the Turks, but avenged it again and again, with help from an army of volunteers, raised in all parts of Europe by the exertions of a zealous monk named Capistrano. When Huniades died, his enemies controlled the worthless young king, Ladislaus, and the latter pursued him in his grave with denunciations as a traitor and a knave. In 1458, Ladislaus died, and Mathias, a son of Huniades, was elected king. After he had settled himself securely upon the throne, Mathias turned his arms, not against the Turks, but against the Hussites of Bohemia, in an attempt to wrest the crown of that kingdom from George Podiebrad.

The End of the Eastern empire

Pears,
*The De-
struction of
the Greek
Empire*

Turkish
siege of
Constanti-
nople,
A. D. 1453

Meantime, the Turkish sultan, Mohammed II., had accomplished the capture of Constantinople and brought the venerable empire of the east—Roman, Greek, or Byzantine, as we choose to name it—to an end. He was challenged to the undertaking by the folly of the last emperor, Constantine Palæologus, who threatened to support a pretender to Mohammed's throne. The latter began serious preparations at once for a siege of the long coveted city, and opened his attack in April, 1453.

The Greeks, even in that hour of common danger, were engaged in a religious quarrel too hotly to act together. Their last preceding emperor had gone personally to the council of the western church, at Florence, in 1439, with some

of the bishops of the Greek church, and had arranged for the submission of the latter to Rome, as a means of procuring help from Catholic Europe against the Turks. His successor, Constantine, adhered to this engagement, professed the Catholic faith and observed the Catholic ritual. His subjects in general repudiated the imperial contract with scorn, and avowedly preferred a Turkish master to a Roman shepherd. Hence they took little part in the defense of the city.

Constantine, with the small force at his command, fought the host of besiegers with noble courage and obstinacy for seven weeks, receiving a little succor from the Genoese, but from no other source. On the 29th of May the walls were carried by storm; the emperor fell, fighting bravely to the last; and the Turks became masters of the city of Constantine. There was no extensive massacre of the inhabitants; the city was given up to pillage, but not to destruction, for the conqueror intended to make it his capital. A number of fugitives had escaped, before, or during the siege; but 60,000 captives, men, women and children, were sold into slavery and scattered throughout the Ottoman empire.

The city
taken by
storm, May
29, 1453

Greece and most of the islands of the Ægean soon shared the fate of Constantinople, and the subjugation of Servia and Bosnia was made complete.

Turkish
subjugation of
Greece

The fall of Constantinople was preceded and followed by a flight of Greeks to western Europe,

Flight of
Greeks to
western
Europe

Their salvage of
Greek manu-
scripts

The timely
invention
of printing,
A. D. 1454

bearing such treasures as they could save from the Turks. Of that salvage the most precious was in manuscripts of the great literature of ancient Greece, which thirsting minds in the west were just beginning to discover, to taste, and to crave. These texts of a literature and a learning that had been lost to the world, practically, for a thousand years, arrived in the western countries at precisely the time when a multiplication and cheapening of books was made possible by the invention of printing with movable types. Apparently that invention was accomplished about the middle of the fifteenth century, by John Gutenberg, at the city of Mainz. A papal letter of indulgence dated in 1454 is the earliest known specimen of Gutenberg's work.





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Larned, J. N.

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